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WILLIAM HASELL GIBBES' STORY OF HIS LIFE

Edited by ARNEY R. CHILDS

University of South Carolina

William Hasell Gibbes*, master-in-equity, Charleston, from 1782 to 1825, was born in Charleston in 1754. He had an interesting Revolutionary and public career which he traces briefly in this autobiography.

Beginning with his childhood and early education, Gibbes gives a vivid picture of his student days in London where he was one of a group of prominent young Americans reading law at the Inner Temple in the stirring pre-Revolutionary days. The autobiography continues with the story of how Gibbes, in defiance of his father's orders to remain in England to complete his course, escaped to Bermuda and thence to South Carolina to take part in the Revolution. Gibbes gives some details of his later professional and public career, including his impeachment and acquittal by the Legislature in 1811.

The sketch apparently was written about ten years before Gibbes' death which took place in 1834. The manuscript, an unbound notebook, is quite legible except along the frayed edges or where there are occasional blots. Dr. J. Heyward Gibbes of Columbia, a direct lineal descendant of William Hasell Gibbes, gave this manuscript together with other interesting Gibbes material to the South Caroliniana Library of the University of South Carolina.

In preparing the sketch for publication the punctuation has been modernized and the many superscribed abbreviations have been expanded, but otherwise the manuscript has been carefully followed.†

Some of my children having signified a wish to be furnished with a sketch of the principal Incidents of my life, altho not interesting to any others, but gratifying to them. As I have never refused them any reasonable request I will endeavor to do so as well as memory will assist me having at different times destroyed such notes in writing as related to it.

At the age of 9 or 10 I had the misfortune of losing my good Mother, who I think died of the *Yellow Fever*. Being a spoilt boy and not very manageable and my Father about to marry again I was placed under the care and tuition of Bishop Smith who had married a Cousin of mine from

* See this *Magazine*, XII (1911), 84, 85, for his parentage, marriages, and children. A.K.G.

† The editor of the *Magazine* occasionally has broken the text into paragraphs where they are obviously necessary. A.K.G.

my father's house.¹ Here with two others I continued to reside until 12 when I attended the public free school under Rev. Crallan an excellent teacher of languages and Disciplinarian.² At this age I accompanied the Bishop and his wife to England (for her health), was placed with the Rev. Mr. Hochley³ at school at Fulham 3 miles from London, was treated with great regard and attention and recommended for good behavior and diligence, and 6 months after was removed to the great Chester house school in London, continued there and lodged at a french house until 14 when I returned home. At 16 I entered the law office of John Rutledge afterwards Governor and here there were only 12 practicing Lawyers. This must have been about 1770, as I was born 16th March 1754 [blurred] here I fagged as a Clerk and was required to bring large law books under my arm to and from the State House [blur] was subservient to my Master who exacted a more strict attention to duty than the *young Gentleman* in that capacity will now submit to. Our office was on the Ground floor, under the large stone steps at the Brick house in Broad Street⁴ opposite to Orange street (now Mrs. McPherson's) and my breakfast on a waiter was sent me consisting of 2 large slices of bread thinly buttered and a bowl of tea (often cold).

I continued to reside at Bishop Smith's until 19 when I embarked for England in 1773 and entered on Study at the Inner Temple in London. I was now my own Master and under no Controul, urged to follow the example of my more wealthy Carolina Countrymen and enter on all the fashionable dissipation which their Parents mistaken Indulgences, suggested and encouraged by allowing them more money than was prudent and made them averse to study. I could not altogether resist the temptation and commenced Beau. Fortunately my father, tho an industrious frugal Man (in the factorage line) could not allow me more than £150 or \$650 and always accompanied his remittance with the best and kindest advice which gratitude imposed on me the indispensible obligation to attend to. I soon found I could not keep pace with my extravagant and heedless companions who got into scrapes and difficulties in which they involved me and sometimes left me to extricate myself without their assistance. The last frolic I had with them opened my eyes and determined me to prefer

¹ Robert Smith was the first bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina. See, Frederick Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*. . . . (Charleston, 1820), p. 434.

² Probably James Crallan. *Ibid.*

³ Probably John Hockley, who left the province in 1767. *Ibid.*

⁴ This house, much altered in the middle of the nineteenth century, is now (1948) 116 Broad St., the residence of Dr. Harley B. Lindsay.

more rational enjoyment. We had supped at a fashionable place of resort in Covent Garden the rendezvous for Bucks and disorderly spirits and after being prepared for adventures, kicked the waiters down the stairs and sallied forth but the Landlord gave a signal for his spies (who were always at hand) for the Watchman at 2 O'Clock in the Morning who attempted to arrest us. We drew our swords (which were more for show than service, and defended ourselves heroically, but were overpowered, disarmed and taken prisoners, with broken swords, black eyes and bruises and conducted to the "Round House," a secure place or Cellar provided for such occasions which frequently occurred. A Tavern of *genteel fame*, was attached to this Midnight asylum and we had a polite message from the keeper that we could be supplied with whatever refreshments we wished from Champagne or Tokay to humble Porter, but we were too much enraged at our past treatment to pay regard to his *friendly offer* for which we should have paid his own price. Early in the morning we were indulged with a hackney Coach being five in number and conducted amidst the shouts and scoffings of Chimney sweeps (with the music of their marrow bones etc.) and other blackguards who mounted behind the Coach to Sir John Fielding, the famous City Magistrate, for examination. We were accused of a desperate assault and battery of a number of stout watchmen and of bruising and maiming them, a number of their broken Lanterns were produced (as they had been frequently before on similar occasions). Sir John being too much of a Gentleman to listen to such charges gave up his seat to a subordinate trading justice who displayed great authority and consequence and inveighed against the outrages we had committed. Thos. Pinckney (now our Major General) and Jacob Reid of our party addressed his Honor and produced their wounds and disheveled locks all bloody as proofs of our being the abused party, but to no purpose.⁵ The inexorable Judge ordered us to give bail to appear at the ensuing session to answer the grievous Complaint and we had to dispatch Porters, who made us pay well for their services, to our Taylors and Shoemakers to be our securities. We all were then discharged with threats of being committed, if we [were] ever again brought before his Honor, and his forbearance in dealing with us with such lenity, and of course paid the fees. To relieve us from the Prosecution of our Covent Garden Landlord for a riot in his house, we agreed with him to have a supper at his house which cost us about 2 Guineas apiece. A polite invitation was sent to the Justice that we might express our sense of *his forbearance* and requested his

⁵ Jacob Read, who later served in the Revolution, was elected to the Continental Congress (1783-86), and the United States Senate (1795-1801). See, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 425.

Company, but he was too cunning or suspected a trick. In fact we had laid a plan to ply him up with Champagne (which intoxicates quickly and without suspicion and then introduce him to the "Round House."

Still wishing to make a show and occasionally to keep up appearances I found it necessary to adopt a plan of rigid Economy. My friend John Peronneau was in the same situation.⁶ Finding private lodgings inconsistent with our views, we hired a set of rooms in the Inner Temple of 2 Chambers and a Hall up a pair of stairs and as we gave it out, that we might be more retired for study, and the benefit of air, and having no persons over our heads to disturb us (but the object was cheapness.) Our old Laundress made our fires and boiled our teakettle in a small adjoining room. We studied diligently, sometimes dined on bread and cheese in our rooms, but generally at an adjoining obscure Chop House where we got a good Steak or part of a decent and comfortable joint for 1/6 with a pint of porter. We seldom indulged in wine *as we could not get it good*, and [bad] did not agree with our Stomach's (or pockets.) Now and then we would appear in Public in proper style, hair dressed and powdered and tucked in a silk bag, with sword and cane, hat with a brilliant Buckle and loop etc., visited the Theatre when 2nd Act over (and $\frac{1}{2}$ price taken and boxes open for that purpose. At other times we would amuse ourselves with the drollery of Sailors and low company in the 2 shilling or 1/ Gallery and saw and heard blackguardism in perfection. A night Caper with a saucer of raw Oysters or a Welch Rabbit closed the scene. In returning home we were often accosted by Men and Women of the most wretched appearance asking for Charity and endeavoring to pick our pockets, but the vigilance of the watchmen patrolling in every direction generally prevented Outrages. We would sometimes squeeze out a Guinea to attend at a Masquerade where some wit and humor were displayed by assumed Characters, but often disgusting buffoonery, and inability to support themselves. An elegant supper and musick were generally provided and the Company (not in disguised dress) generally put off their Masks and after supper resumed them which afforded opportunities to the designing and libertine to carry on intrigues and roguery. These entertainments are not adapted to the English whose national Character is not calculated for them. The french and other foreigners are generally the life of the Company. It would be endless to speak of the daily and hourly amusements and places of polite and idle resort in this great Metropolis. Here too vice in its most frightful shape and virtue and Charity are exhibited in their most striking colours.

⁶ Probably a member of the prominent Huguenot family of that name. See, Arthur Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (Durham, N. C., 1928), p. 235.

My friend Peronneau and myself attended regularly on the Law and Equity Courts at Westminster Hall and endeavored to get Improvement and pleasure from every source. The evenings were generally devoted to rambles and sometimes getting into scrapes and trouble from the Vanity and folly of Youth and an open and unsuspicious character, which the young Men of our Country were remarked for. I had frequent opportunity of observing, however, the dignified superiority of Virtue over Vice and that the former under many disadvantages had its reward and that Pope said truly "Virtue alone is Happiness below."

In 1775 the political troubles between England and America commenced and I felt anxious to return and take part with my Countrymen, but was forbid doing so by my father until I had taken my Degree of Barrister at Law. This I was not entitled to until the summer of 1776. I declined doing so as it could not be obtained but at the expense of my Conscience and dereliction of my political Principles, by taking an oath of Allegiance to King George, as one of his Subjects, and Independence having been declared by Congress I felt myself absolved from all ties of subjection to Royalty. I determined to abandon the fascinations of Gaiety and what young Men erroneously consider the days of their principal enjoyment and took my departure for the seaport town of Portsmouth. Here I met $\frac{1}{2}$ a dozen young Men of Carolina and Georgia who were full of zeal for their Country's Cause and longed to join them, but no persons were allowed to quit the Kingdom without passports, which being Americans we obtained with difficulty and could meet with no Vessel that would receive us as Passengers. Being detained here, I got introduced to Lieutenant Governor Gambier, who was about to embark for Nassau in a Government Vessel to exercise the duties of the King's Lieutenant Governor in the Bahama Islands. On stating our difficulties he most generously offered us all Berths on board his Vessel and only enjoined on us not to enter into Political Discussions during the Voyage as it might offend his Company and suite. This we strictly observed.

Nothing material occurred and we arrived at Nassau New Providence October or November and paid our Passage money to the Captain. The little Town was crowded with Emigrants and the Military and we found it difficult to get Lodging. Mr. Gambier gave us another proof of his liberality in offering us the use of the old Government House then in a state of decay but answered our purpose sufficiently and we invited others of our Countrymen to associate with us. The Governor took this Opportunity of returning the Civilities and friendly attention shown him many years before on a visit to Charleston in a Mercantile Capacity so true it is that every benevolent action will at sometime or other be requited and afford gratification to those who practice them.

Fortunately after a fortnight stay here, a schooner was bound to Georgetown (So. Car.) with a load of salt which the Americans were allowed to take in return for supplies of salt provision which they brought for the King's Garrison. We accordingly embarked and were chased by a British Privateer which notwithstanding the Neutrality of that Island might have taken us to some obscure place and had the Vessel condemned. We fortunately escaped Capture by superior sailing and a dark Night. We had another escape on Georgetown Bar where our Vessel ran aground. We arrived and landed to our great Joy in our own free and beloved Country. There I found Commerce was suspended, Privateers setting out to annoy and capture British Vessels and procure from them Arms and ammunition which were scarce and everything wore a Military but Joyful aspect.

I immediately embarked and arrived at Charleston in March 1778 and was struck with dismay and sorrow at the miserable appearance of the Town which 3 months before had suffered much from a great fire which had consumed $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the City. I was immediately elected a Lieutenant Fire Worker⁷ in the old and respectable Corps of Artillery of which my father had been one of the first Members, but ceased to be so on receiving the Appointment of Treasurer of the State jointly with Captain Edward Blake. The Company (which afterward became the Battallion) was commanded by Thos. Grimbll, Lieutnents Thos. Heyward and Edward Rutledge the former afterward Major and one of the State Judges and the latter an eminent Lawyer and Governor of the State.⁸ I was also elected Member of Assembly to represent John's Island where my father had a Plantation,⁹ and the Gibbes family, one of the oldest and most respectable, had great influence and were all uniformly attached to the Interest of their Country. I was also chosen one of Governor Guerard's Privy Councilors and admitted a member of the Bar as a Lawyer and took the Oath of fidelity and allegiance to my Country.

I now felt myself a Man of great Consequence, but tho strongly attached to Revolutionary Principles, advocated the rights of others who differed with me in this respect and insisted on their Privilege of withdrawal from us, provided their behavior was peaceable and that they didn't interfere with or thwart our Opposition to British Government. Some of my particular and esteemed friends were as I thought under the fatal delusion

⁷ A Second Lieutenant of Artillery. The Ancient and Honorable Battallion of Artillery remains in Charleston, but as a social organization.

⁸ That Gibbes does not mention these two men as signers of the Declaration of Independence shows how this distinction has since grown in importance.

⁹ Mrs. William Gibbes, his grandmother, died in 1739 at Woodlands, the family place on John's Island. This *Magazine*, XII, 82. A.K.G.

of supporting tyrannical Measures and of imposing taxes on us for that purpose.

In [January] 1779 one of the Companies of our Battalion of Artillery and several Companies of Charleston Militia were ordered to march to Port Royal ferry and take Post there 12 Miles from Beaufort then occupied by a Detachment of the British. Here we were joined by some Country Militia and prepared to dislodge the Enemy. On Beaufort Island about 100 of the Militia with 75 of our Artillery (with 2 field pieces) crossed the ferry and on their way to Beaufort were attacked on the high road by a larger body of British Infantry. Under cover of a Swamp a smart Action took place. Our two small pieces were well served and tho the enemy could hardly be seen, did much execution. Many of the Country Militia posted themselves behind Trees and with buck shot with which they were supplied for hunting, killed and wounded most of the enemy. The remainder retreated to the Town and immediately evacuated it. The wounded and many Prisoners were well treated. Seven of their Officers were killed and carried by our people to Beaufort and buried there, of our Party Lieutenant Wilkins (an excellent soldier and a worthy man) with 8 of his Militia were killed and 22 men wounded.

Our whole Detachment was soon after ordered to march with all expedition to Savannah where we joined General Lincoln with the Continental Troops and the French under Count D'Estaing. Being the youngest Officer in the Battallion of Artillery I claimed and obtained the honor of a Command of 20 volunteers of the corps to fire the 1st shot at the Town of Savannah then occupied by the British. In the night we approached as near as we could with safety and threw up some hasty sand works to cover four six Pound field Pieces which we opened upon the enemy at day break and shot away their flag staff. They returned the fire and killed one of my Men. It is unnecessary to give an account of our Operations during a 3 days siege and an unsuccessful attempt to storm the Town as it is completely and particularly detailed in Dr. Ramsay's history of South Carolina. We accordingly returned to Charleston to prepare for its defence against attempts of Prevost in February 1780 and afterwards to repel the concerted Plan of investment by Sir Henry Clinton the British Commander in Chief. The Town capitulated and our Citizens paroled.

The Enemy afterwards adopted the foolish and to them fatal experiment of overawing the Inhabitants and by menaces and persecutions attempted to induce them to take protection. About 100 of us were suddenly arrested under false pretenses of having broken our Paroles by Correspondence and otherwise with our friends who were in Arms. We were put on board Prison ships, conveyed to St. Augustine and there detained for eleven Months when we were sent to Philadelphia and exchanged for British

Troops. The Quakers tho they would take no part in the war, set about a subscription to relieve our necessities and loaned us \$200 a piece, which was afterwards returned them. I purchased a horse, saddle, bridle, and Pistols, and equiped myself with the sword of my Brother-in-law the late Major Charles Shephard (who was killed before the lines of Savannah). With a pair of saddle bags behind my horse I set out in Company with my friends George Flagg and Peter Bocquet and returned to our own Country with 4 shirts and other clothing in proportion.

Here I collected a few stragglers of our Battalion and joined General Marion, who with a body of Volunteers and Country Militia, was scouting the Country and dispersing the Tories. I soon after attended the General Assembly which was called to meet at Jacksonborough.¹⁰ Governor Matthews offered me the Appointment of a Judge of the State for the purpose of holding a regular Court of Justice and trying the Tories and others who had deserted the Cause of their Country, but I declined accepting it and soon after on the Evacuation of the enemy I returned to Charleston and resumed my practice of Law.

At the first session of the Legislature I was appointed Master in Equity in 1782 and have continued in that Office ever since. I also served in the capacity of a Warden and of Recorder to the City Corporation. In 1810 being in bad health I made an excursion to the Upper Country and in crossing a Creek at Vance's ferry in Santee swamp I narrowly escaped Drowning. In 1811 a persecution against me by my Political Adversaries was commenced, for the secret tho the real purpose of getting me out of Office as Master in Equity, being the only means by which it could be effected (as I held it during good behavior or for life unless discharged by Impeachment). For this purpose Thomas Lehre entered the list as Champion and petitioned the Legislature to have me brought before them on Impeachment for having acted contrary to my duties and violated the Trusts reposed in me. The business respecting his Ward Miss Lehre and the Widow of his Brother Dr. Lehre was solemnly and fully investigated and I was (of course) honorably acquitted and my Adversaries covered with shame and defeat. Since this I have been permitted to exercise my Official Duties without much interruption altho under great responsibility in the taking adequate and approved securities for abiding Decrees and from Guardians of Minors for the faithful discharge of their Trusts and making their regular annual Returns.

It has pleased the Father of Mercy to lengthen my period of duration to my 69th Year which I never looked for or deserved, but I cannot suf-

¹⁰ This sentence, which originally stood just before the words "In [January] 1779", was drawn through by Gibbes because it was out of chronological order, the Jacksonborough Assembly having taken place early in 1782 before the British evacuated Charleston. It is here inserted where it belongs. A.K.G.

ficiently express my Gratitude otherwise than in bewailing my inability to make any returns at all commensurate with such blessings. I cannot however but indulge the pleasing hope that I am useful to my family and perhaps to others and endeavor to inculcate moral truths and habits to the extent of my poor ability and by my continuance of labor to increase their Comforts and add a little to their worldly enjoyments, by giving the best Educations which they are capable of receiving and cooperating with their good and affectionate Mother in endeavoring to promote their more important and eternal Interests.

EPITAPHS, THE GIBBES FAMILY¹ CEMETERY, JOHN'S ISLAND

Contributed by RICHARD J. BRYAN

This cemetery, on the plantation known as Retreat or Peaceful Retreat, is now abandoned and in poor condition. During the Revolution, when the plantation was occupied by a British battalion of Hessians, the family fled at midnight, inadvertently leaving a small boy asleep in his bed. Despite the darkness and gunfire, thirteen-year-old Mary Anna Gibbes returned alone, fully a mile, and carried the child to safety.²

Robert Gibbes died July 4, 1794 aged 64 years.

Sarah R. Gibbes wife of Robert Gibbes died Jan. 19, 1825 aged 79 years.

Robert Reeve Gibbes Senr. died Oct. 23, 1831 aged 62 years 9 months.

Mrs. Ann Smith Gibbes wife of Robert Reeve Gibbes Senr., died April 22, 1850, aged 70 years 1 month 22 days.

Infant daughter of Robert & Ann Gibbes died June 1805 aged 2 months 4 days.

Infant daughter of Robert & Ann Gibbes died Sept. 15, 1806 aged 3 months 22 days.

Peter S. Gibbes died Nov. 9, 1825 aged 25 years 2 months 6 days.

Robert R. Gibbes Junr. died Oct. 14, 1826 aged 22 years 8 months 26 days.

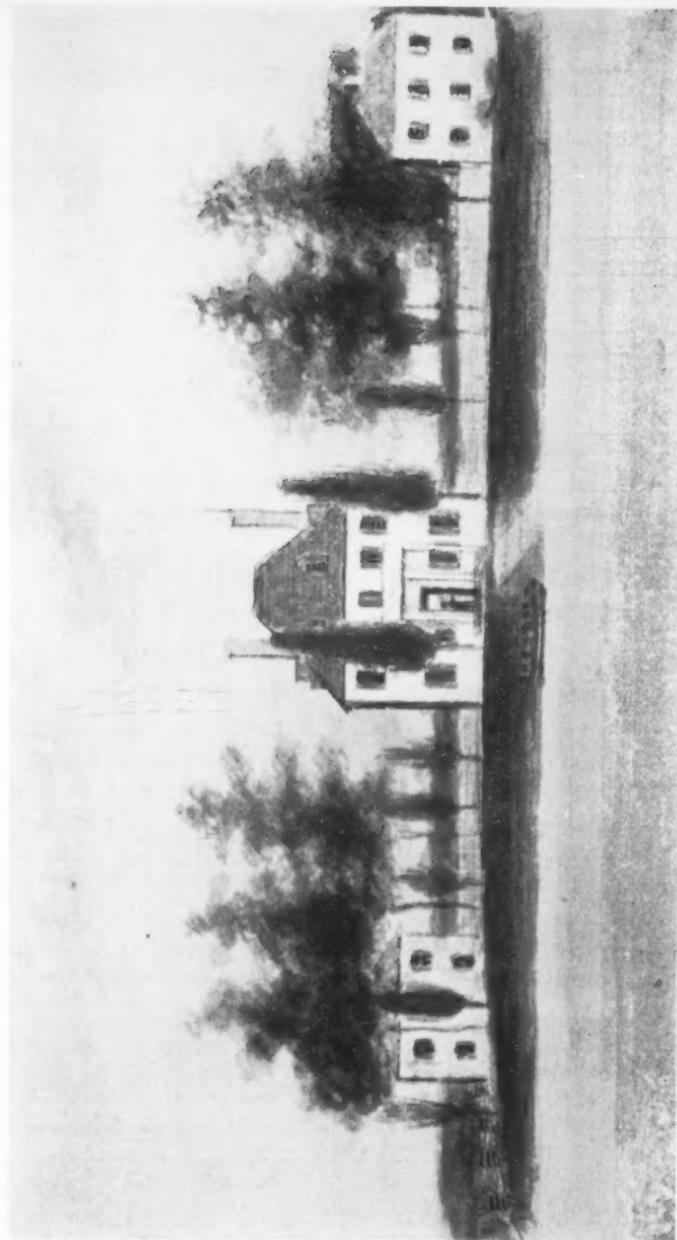
Gardenia Garden Gibbes died Sept. 22, 1839 aged 25 years 10 months 20 days.

Dr. Nathaniel Heyward Gibbes son of Robert R. & Ann S. Gibbes died Nov. 8, 1868 aged 43 years 4 months 6 days.

Mary Middleton Gibbes daughter of Robert & Ann Gibbes died Oct. 10, 1814 aged 4 years 8 months 18 days.

¹ For a partial genealogy of the Gibbes Family, see this *Magazine*, XII (1911), 78-105. A.K.G.

² See *A Charleston Sketchbook*, by Charles Fraser, edited by Alice R. Huger Smith (Charleston, 1940), [4].



From Charles Fraser's sketchbook. Courtesy of Carolina Art Association

Mrs. ROBERT GIBBES' HOUSE ON STONO RIVER, JOHN'S ISLAND, 1797

Barnard Elliott only son of Col. Barnard Elliott died July 29, 1806 aged 29 years.

Mrs. Juliet Georgiana Elliott relict of the late Barnard Elliott³ Esq. & youngest daughter of Robert & Sarah Reeve Gibbes of John's Island died May 27, 1850 aged 72 years.

Mrs. Sarah Middleton Gibbes wife of Robert Gibbes died Ju^{lv} 4, 1846 aged 45 years 10 months 7 days.

James Ladson Gibbes 2d son of John Gibbes Esq. died Nov. 9, 1831 aged 39 years.

Emma Augusta daughter of James & Adelaide Gibbes died Oct. 14, 1818 aged 8 months 26 days.

Barnard Smith Elliott son of Barnard & Juliet G. Elliott born Sept. 18, 1804 died Dec. 2, 1850.

Barnard Elliott son of Barnard Elliott [1777-1806] born March 3, 1800 died ———[?] 5, 18———.

Juliet Georgiana daughter of Barnard Elliott born Sept. 17, 1803 died July 7, 1804.

³In a recent letter to the editor, Mr. Bryan says: "the cemetery has been destroyed since I copied the epitaphs years ago. Retreat has been divided up into small sections, and I have heard that the section on which the cemetery is, has been sold within the last year, and I do not know the name of the present owner. The old Gibbes house, which was close to the cemetery, was burned. A mound of broken brieks marks the site, about fifty by fifty feet in area. The cemetery was about sixty by sixty feet in area, and surrounded by a brick wall with tall sand-stone-capped pillars at the corners. . . . The present Water Works building, the Elliott mansion, on George Street, Charleston, was, I believe, the town house of the Elliotts who are buried at Retreat. . . . Thomas Roper who died in 1861, owned Retreat for a number of years before his death. . . . Retreat Plantation is on the River Road about three miles north of Fenwick Hall on the same side of the road. The river is quite near the road and the railroad bridge is not far away. A group of large magnolias marks the site of the cemetery."

MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE CITY GAZETTE
OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

Contributed by ELIZABETH HEYWARD JERVEY

(Continued from January)

Died, at Columbia, (S.C.) on the 4th inst. Mrs. Maria Eliza Coleman, consort of Isaac H. Coleman, Esq. at the age of twenty years, eight months. This early victim of the grave had all the virtues and accomplishments that adorn private life, as a wife, a daughter and a member of society. . . . She sleeps in death between her two infant children. (Saturday, October 12, 1822)

The Friends and Acquaintances, and the members of the Fellowship Society, are requested to attend the funeral of Seth H. Gilbert, from his late residence in Tradd-street, near Church-street, at 11 o'clock This Morning, without further invitation. (Monday, October 14, 1822)

Departed this life, on the 8th ult. of the bilious fever, Miss. Mary Crosby, aged 22 years. . . . [verses] (Tuesday, October 15, 1822)

Died, at Quarantine, on the 10th inst. of yellow fever, Capt. Enoch Wheeler, of New-York, master of the brig Fox of that place, but last from Mobile. Capt. W. died on the 4th day of his illness, the day after his arrival at Quarantine. (Tuesday, October 15, 1822)

On Friday last, at Pickensville, an affray took place between a Mr. William Owens and a man by the name of John H. Goldsby, in which the latter struck William Owens on the side of his head with a stone, which put an end to his existance. Goldsby has since been apprehended, and is lodged in goal. (Wednesday, October 16, 1822)

Died, at New Orleans, about the 18th September of the yellow fever, Captain Edward Salter, of the sloop *Volant*, formerly of this port. (Thursday, October 17, 1822)

Died on the 12th inst. Seth Hart Gilbert, in the 45th year of his age. He was an exemplary son, a good father, an industrious and honest man. Mr. Gilbert has left a widow and four children, to lament his loss. (Friday, October 18, 1822)

The Relatives, Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. Thomas Ham and of Mrs. Margaret Addison Ham, are respectfully invited to attend the

funeral of the latter, from her residence in Hampstead, This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock. (Friday, October 18, 1822)

Died, on the 17th inst. of a short but severe illness, Lewis Betrand Depau, Esq. in the 43d year of his age; Vice-Counsil for Spain, and for many years a respectable merchant of our city. . . . (Saturday, October 19, 1822)

Departed this life on Tuesday last, the 24th of Sept. in Russell's Valley Alabama, Jenkin Whiteside, Esq. *Attorney at Law* of that place, in the 54th year of his age. In the death of this distinguished lawyer, a great man indeed has fallen. . . . *Nashville Advocate, Oct. 1.* (Saturday, October 19, 1822)

Died, at Camden, on Friday last, Mr. Charles A. Vinro, aged 22 years, a native of Charleston, S. C. (Monday, October 21, 1822)

Married, on Tuesday Evening the 1st inst. by the Rev. Mr. Gadsden, Mr. Robert Ling to Miss Jane Tamplet, all of this city. (Monday, October 21, 1822)

Married, On Sunday evening, the 20th inst. by the Rev. Mr Bachman, Mr. John J. Radford to Mrs. Jane Moore, both of this city. (Tuesday, October 22, 1822)

Died, at Old Point Comfort, on the 7th inst. Captain Thomas Dulton, Navy Store Keeper at the Gosport Dock Yard. (Tuesday, October 22, 1822)

Married, On Sunday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Bachman, Mr. Henry H. Grainger to Miss Mary Hopkins, both of this city. (Wednesday, October 23, 1822)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. William Lebby, and the Members of the *Mechanic Society*, are requested to attend his Funeral This Afternoon at 4 o'clock, from his late residence, Amen street, without further invitation. (Friday, October 25, 1822)

Died, at Columbia, on the 16th inst. after a few days illness, William Branthwaite, Esq. in the 39th year of his age. (Saturday, October 26, 1822)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mrs. Ann M. Chitty and J. W. Chitty, Sen. Are particularly requested to attend the Funeral of the former at four o'clock This Afternoon, from her late residence, St. Philip's street continued. (Tuesday, October 29, 1822)

Died, at New-Orleans, on the 1st October, of the prevailing epidemic, Capt. Reuben West, master of the ship Washington, of New-York. After

a lingering illness Capt. Thomas Rodney, of Kent Island, Maryland. And Mr. Peyton Roach, of Virginia, deeply regretted both by relatives and friends. (Thursday, October 31, 1822)

The subject of this brief notice is Miss Caroline M. G. K. Holmes, youngest daughter of Chas. Holmes, Esq. of this city, who departed this transitory existence on the evening of Sunday, the 20th inst. after a short illness. This is the third daughter the omnipotent King has called from her parents within the short period of 4 months. . . . (Wednesday, October 30, 1822)

Departed this life on Saturday the 19th inst. Eleanor, second daughter of Thomas and Mary Burnham, during a short but painful illness. . . . (Wednesday, October 30, 1822)

Married On Tuesday Evening, the 29th ult. by the Right Revd. Bishop England, John C. Nunan, Esq. to Elizabeth A. Farley, both of this city. (Friday, November 1, 1822)

Departed this life on the 31st ult. after a painful illness of 14 days which he bore with Christian fortitude, Capt. James Breidy, aged 37 years, a native of Edinburgh in Scotland. . . . (Tuesday, November 5, 1822)

Departed this life at Philadelphia on Saturday 5th October last, Mrs. Elizabeth Henry, consort of Alexander Henry, Esq. of this city, in the 55th year of her age. In the death of this amiable Lady, her affectionate husband and children, have sustained an irreparable loss. . . . (Saturday, November 9, 1822)

The Relatives, Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Elfe, are invited to attend the Funeral of the latter, from her late residence in Hampstead, This Afternoon at half past 2 o'clock. (Saturday, November 9, 1822)

Married, on Sunday evening the 3d inst. by the Rev. Dr. Dalcho, Robert Jackson, Esq. to Mrs. Mary Ann McCrady, both of this city. (Thursday, November 14, 1822)

Married, on Thursday, the 14th inst. by the Rev. Doct. Gadsden, Mr. Thomas P. Green, to Miss Maria Sophia Moser, youngest daughter of Doct. P. Moser, all of this city. (Thursday, November 21, 1822)

[Married] in New York, on the 9th inst. Edward Armstrong, Esq. of Elizabethtown (N. J.) to Miss Sarah H. Ward, of this City. (Thursday, November 21, 1822)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. John Hunter, and of Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Raymond, also the Members of the Fellowship

Society, are invited to attend the Funeral of Mr. Wm. H. Raymond, from the residence of Mr. Hunter, no. 77 King-street, This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock, without further invitation. (Friday, November 22, 1822)

Died in Greene County, Alabama, Joseph Noble, Esq. Attorney at Law, formerly of Abbeville, S. C. In Union Dist. S. C. Capt. James McCulloch aged 39 years. (Saturday, November 23, 1822)

Married at Georgetown (S. C.) on Tuesday evening last by the Rev. Mr. Balch, Mr. Henry Upperman, Sen. aged 80 years to Miss Margaret Gibbs aged 65 years, both of this place. (Monday, November 25, 1822)

Died, at Pendleton, (S. C.) on the 4th inst. Mrs. Margaret Hamilton aged 40 years, consort of Major Andrew Hamilton. (Wednesday, November 27, 1822)

The Friends Acquaintances and Members of the Bar, are invited to attend the Funeral of Judge Drayton, from his late residence, No. 92 Wentworth-street, This Morning at nine o'clock, without further invitation. (Thursday, November 28, 1822)

The friends and acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Ogden, are respectfully invited to attend the funeral of their son John B. Ogden, This Afternoon at half past three o'clock, from their residence No. 109 East Bay. (Thursday, November 28, 1822)

Savannah, Dec. 2. Melancholy Accident. On Wednesday last the boat of the schr. Ann Capt. Anderson, lying at Cockpur bound for Charleston, was unfortunately upset and the mate of the schr. Mr. McGruder drowned. . . . The supercargo and the seamen were saved by the exertions of Capt. Robinson and the crew of the brig Almira. As the Sally Ann was coming over the Bar, John John McKeever fell from the mast head and was instantly killed. *Georgian*. (Thursday, December 5, 1822)

Departed this life, on the 27th ultimo. John B. Ogden, son of Capt. George W. Ogden, in the 14th year of his age. . . . (Friday, December 13, 1822)

Died, on Tuesday, 10th instant Mr. Moses Tennent, of this city. He endured a long and painful illness with Christian fortitude, and has left a very distressed family, consisting of a widow and six small children to lament his loss. (Friday, December 13, 1822)

Departed this life on the evening of 7th inst. after a short but painful illness, which he bore with christian fortitude, Major White Youngs, late of the U. S. army. Though a stranger, from the urbanity of his manners, he was much respected by all who knew him. His friends in *Mount Holly*,

or *Charleston S. C.* will hear of his papers and effects by addressing a line to J. Mareschal, 71 Pratt-Street, Baltimore. *Balt. Amer.* (Monday, December 16, 1822)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. Louis Coste, and the *French Benevolent Society*, and also the Members of the *Lodge La Conduer*, No. 36, are invited to attend the funeral of Mr. Louis Coste, This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock, from his late residence No. 63 Queen-street, without further invitation. (Thursday, December 19, 1822)

Married, on Tuesday Evening last, by the Right Rev. Dr. Bowen, Mr. James H. Clairborne, of St. Bartholomew's to Miss Ann Kershaw, of this city. (Friday, December 20, 1822)

Married at New York, on Friday evening, 13th inst. Captain John R. Crane, of the line-ship *Amelia* to Miss Eliza Montgomery. (Friday December 20, 1822)

Died, on Sullivan's Island, on Sunday morning, 15th inst. after a residence on that Island of 23 years, Mrs. Julia Coullion, a native of Philadelphia, the wife of John L. Coullion, aged 53 years. She was truly an affectionate wife. May that great and merciful Father of the human family, endow her bereaved husband with sufficient fortitude to bear her very heavy loss. (Friday, December 20, 1822)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mrs. Eliza Bee, William Bee and Benjamin and Eliza Witter, also the Teachers and Children of Sabbath School No. 1 are invited to attend the funeral of the late Eliza Ann Cleary, This Morning at 10 o'clock, from the residence of Mrs. Eliza Bee, Moore's-street, without further invitation. (Friday December 20, 1822)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Miss Mary Marshall, are invited to attend her Funeral from her late residence No. 74 Tradd-street, This Afternoon, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'clock, without further invitation. (Friday, December 20, 1822)

Married, On Tuesday Evening last, by the Rev. Dr. Hall, Mr. William Stone, of Philadelphia, to Miss Margaret Farley of this city. (Tuesday December 24, 1822)

Married in Sunbury Georgia, on Thursday the 28th November, by the Rev. C. O. Scriven, Dr. William P. M'Cannell to Miss Ann A. Dicks, both of Sunbury. (Wednesday, December 25, 1822)

Departed this transitory life on Thursday morning December 19, in the 11th year of her age, Miss Eliza Ann Cleary, daughter of the late Captain

Robert Cleary. . . . and being in the full assurance of shortly appearing before her Maker, she bade them farewell and her soul flew to Heaven. (Saturday, December 28, 1822)

Died, In Camden, on the 19th Nov. last, Mrs. Sarah Walling, wife of William Walling, jun. in the 34th year of her age. (Monday, December 30, 1822)

Departed this life on the 13th inst. in the 62d year of his age, William Smith, Esq. a native of New-York, but for 30 years past a resident of this State and Georgia, and the last eleven an inhabitant of this city. . . . A most affectionate husband, fond parent, indulgent master and sincere friend, he superadded to these, the inestimable character of a practical christian without affectation. Whilst a resident in Savannah, Mr. Smith filled the appointment of a Judge of the Inferior Court: . . . He possessed a strong mind, and had received a liberal education. . . . (Monday, December 30, 1822)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. James Jacks, and the Members of St. Andrew's Society, are invited to attend his funeral from his late residence in Wraggsborough, This Morning at 9 o'clock without a more particular invitation. (Tuesday, December 31, 1822)

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM JOHN GRAYSON

Edited by SAMUEL GAILLARD STONEY

(Continued from January)

CHAPTER VIII

I left Charleston on my way to Washington, the last day of November 1833. During the month my eldest daughter, the young child who had been honoured with the kiss and blessing of the elder President Adams, was married to Dr. Thomas L. Ogier of Charleston and prepared to assume her share in the serious duties and adventures of life. The rest of my little family joined me at the North during the ensuing Spring. I crossed the river to Mount Pleasant in a canoe of six oars, the ferry boat of the day. It was night before we set out in a stage coach of two horses. We eat a late supper at the fifteen mile house, breakfasted in Georgetown the next morning, and proceeded on through Marion, Fayetteville, Raleigh, Petersburg, Richmond, to Acquaia Creek. At Acquaia Creek we took the steam boat for Washington. From Georgetown to Petersburg the Stage carried but two passengers, myself and a merchant of Richmond. Occasionally we took up a way-passenger for a few miles. Now hundreds travel the route daily. The rapidity and comfort of the steam car have induced multitudes to travel who would never have been tempted to try the horrors of a stage-coach at four miles an hour over deep ruts and heavy sand.

It was a beautiful day when we passed Mount Vernon and saluted Washington's home and tomb with uncovered heads and a ringing of the steamer's bell. I saw for the first time the lofty dome of the Capitol admirably set off by the surrounding scenery of hills and forests. I felt proud of the progress of the Country exhibited in objects of so much grandeur and beauty, the stately public offices that caught the eye in succession as we approached the city dedicated to the memory of Washington. I little thought how soon the madness of knaves and fools, of political blacklegs and puritans more selfish than their mates, would prostrate the incipient fortunes of its people and blast all their hopes of future greatness. I little dreamed that before my few remaining years should pass away armed men from Washington's city would be marching to invade Virginia; that Section should be arrayed against Section and State against State; that we should be imitating the mad follies of Mexico and South America; that the right of Self-government, the burthen of every fourth of July oration during seventy years should be absolutely denied or forgotten. I heard fierce denunciations uttered around me in Congress by the men of Philadelphia

and Boston against Andrew Jackson for removing the public money from one bank to another, from the custody of Biddle to that of Smith or Brown. The Conqueror who had defended New Orleans was painted as a tyrant blacker than Stuart or Bourbon, as trampling on the constitution and liberties of the Country and now an obscure Attorney from Illinois wipes out, at a stroke of his pen, *Habeas Corpus*, the authority of the Supreme Court, the whole constitution, while the Binneys and Ingersolls stand by and approve and Mr. Everett supports the outrage in laboured speeches. It is almost as strange as a story in the Arabian Nights, though not quite as pleasant.

My friend and colleague General Griffin of Newberry had secured for me very comfortable lodgings with Mrs. Peyton at the corner of Four and a half Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. It was a house of Southern resort. Among our inmates were McDuffie, Felder, and Griffen of South Carolina and Allen and Robertson of Virginia. The house was large and commodious; our landlady, a model landlady, not omitting among her other excellent gifts a small spice of fun and mischief.

I looked with the eye of a countryman in wonder and admiration at the fine buildings of Washington, the President's House, the Post Office, the Treasury, the Capitol. Mr. Randolph, it is said, criticised the Capitol in his usual caustic manner, but to my inexperienced eye accustomed to the old wooden State House of Carolina, the Capitol at Washington was a noble and beautiful building. The Hall of Representatives with its lofty columns, its spacious galleries and amphitheatre of desks and seats, surpassed all my expectations. But imposing as it was in appearance, it was nevertheless a failure so far as the main purpose of such a hall is concerned. It was badly contrived for speaking. You might be very near the speaker and not be able to hear a word he uttered; another in some remote corner would hear distinctly every thing that was said. The evil was not confined to the orator engaged in debate. Gentlemen in the gallery whispering soft phrases in the ears of ladies had their expressions accurately conveyed a long way off to ears for which they were little intended. The tumult and disorder of the house were indescribable. One man would be calling out for a page to do an errand, another would be shooting off from finger and thumb red wafers or bits of paper, others, in groups, would be talking about indifferent topics, while a member was declaiming with loud voice and violent gesticulation on the question under discussion. If the members cared to hear a speech, if it was of a personal nature, or from a new member, or on an interesting subject they assembled in crowds immediately in front of the orator. When the house was particularly attentive, when the galleries were unusually crowded, especially with ladies, it was to hear a personal explanation which commonly meant a personal dispute. It was

difficult to understand how the business of the house could be conducted amid the continued noise and confusion. Yet it managed to go on.

The Session of 1833 was one of great importance and excitement. Party Spirit was excessively exasperated. General Jackson had placed the heel of his military boot on the necks of his enemies. During the preceding summer he had trampled under foot Nicholas Biddle and the bank. The removal of the Public Deposits of money from the United States bank by the President's order roused the rage of the Whig party almost to frenzy. The intensity of the Nullification quarrel was abated, it is true, but the angry passions excited by the controversy were still alive. Jackson and Calhoun from being friends and allies were irreconcilable foes. South Carolina made the cause of her great Statesman her own. No member of the Carolina delegation visted at the White House with the exception of Blair, from Sumter, a Union district. Personal animosity increased political strife. It brought about a curious combination of parties. The democratic State of South Carolina was in fellowship with the Whigs of New York and Pennsylvania, free trade with protective tariffs. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. McDuffie fought in the same ranks as Webster and Clay. They rivalled each other in their fierce invectives against the great Tennessee embodiment of the Country's democracy. He was compared to every tyrant that had ever disgraced humanity. Caesar was a model of patriotic self controul compared with Jackson and Marius and Sulla were men of moderation and public virtue.

The quarrel between Calhoun and Jackson with all these new party combinations and their consequences, grew out of a cunning political intrigue. The intrigue brought to light a secret of Monroe's cabinet. The exploded secret blew up the *entente cordiale* between Carolina and Tennessee "like a grenade shot into a magazine".

The secret related to the Seminole War. General Jackson had judged it necessary in the war to carry his arms into Florida and seize the Spanish posts. The act was a violation of neutral rights and of national law. It sorely perplexed the government of Mr. Monroe. To censure the commanding General in the hour of victory and boundless popularity was not to be thought of. On the other hand to incur a foreign war would be a costly adventure. The President compromised between the two difficulties. His Government defended the General abroad and at home, but gave up the posts to Spain and so disavowed the act of their officer. Although this was the decision to which the cabinet came, it was not without some difference of opinion. It was suggested by a member that the commanding general had transcended his orders in conducting the campaign and that in all such cases a Court of Inquiry was indispensable to preserve the discipline of the army and maintain the dignity of government. The

proposal was not sustained. A rumour of the cabinet proceedings got abroad. It reached Jackson's ear. He ascribed the "hostile movement" to Crawford. There had been some dissension between them before. Crawford had interfered with an Indian treaty negotiated by Jackson. To thwart the general in a public measure was to be involved with him in a private quarrel. The supposed additional offence in the cabinet increased the feud, and Jackson, after his custom, devoted his enemy to the infernal gods. But this disagreement between Tennessee and Georgia stood in the way of certain political schemes. The schemers, friends of the belligerent parties, consulted together. They set about to adjust the dispute, and reconcile the two chiefs. Hamilton of New York, spoke to Mr. Forsyth. Forsyth spoke to Crawford. Crawford declared he had no ill will to General Jackson. He had given Jackson, he said, no cause of offence in Monroe's cabinet. It was not he who had suggested a court of inquiry on the General's conduct in the Seminole Campaign; it was Mr. Calhoun. The declaration of Crawford was communicated by Forsyth to Hamilton. General Jackson was told of Crawford's statement and requested to see it, was furnished with a copy and enclosed it to Mr. Calhoun requesting to be informed whether the Statement was true. It was admitted by Mr. Calhoun to be true as to the fact relating to the Court of Inquiry and the old chief became at once and forever the vindictive foe of the man whom he toasted at a public dinner not long before as the "noblest work of God."

General Jackson maintained that he had been unfairly treated in the Cabinet, because, as he professed to believe, he had acted in conformity with the wishes of the Government if not with the orders of the War Department. On taking command of the army he had written to the President respecting the proper mode of carrying on the war. In a letter of January 6th, 1818, he had asked for authority to push his army if necessary into the Spanish territory. He had not required formal orders. A hint would do. He was ready to relieve the President of all responsibility. A wish, or consent, expressed through a third party would be enough. He received, he said, a letter from Mr. Rhea, a Senator of Tennessee, the common friend of himself and the President, giving him the desired authority to conduct the war at his discretion. He proceeded on this authority in seizing the Spanish posts. When he asserted, as he had done, that he acted in conformity with orders, he construed his orders in connection with Rhea's letter. He had been invited, since, by the President to open a correspondence with the War Department in reference to the conduct of the war. He could not open such a correspondence without appealing to Rhea's letter as modifying the orders of the Department. Such an appeal would be a violation of confidence. He preferred to be silent. The Country, he was confident, would sustain him without com-

pelling him to resort to a confidential letter for protection. He would rely on the people and the people sustained him accordingly.

Mr. Monroe, on the other hand, always denied any knowledge of the Rhea letter. He was sick when Jackson's letter of January was received. He laid it aside without reading it. He had never authorised an answer by Rhea or by any other person. Mr. Calhoun was with the President when the letter came and read it at the time, but knew nothing of the pretended answer. The answer was not a cabinet measure; it professed to be the confidential act of the President alone. The knowledge of it was confined to the President, Mr. Rhea and General Jackson.

In the Cabinet Council on the Seizure of the Spanish posts, Mr. Calhoun rested his suggestion for a Court of Inquiry into the conduct of the commanding officer on the orders issued from the War Department. If Mr. Calhoun remembered Jackson's letter of January, as he could not fail to do, and knew there had been no official reply, as he must have known, he certainly regarded Jackson's letter as the most conclusive evidence that the writer had exceeded the orders of the government in taking possession of the Spanish forts. The letter asked for secret authority; why ask it, if the orders from the Department of War were sufficient? The request proved that the orders were not sufficient. The general had violated his orders. He had disregarded the law of Nations as well as the orders of his own government. The act demanded investigation. Mr. Calhoun as Secretary of War was the proper person to propose it. He had proposed it, with no ill will to General Jackson but as an act of duty to the Country.

No candid mind can censure Mr. Calhoun for suggesting a court of inquiry on an officer in his own department who had violated its orders and invaded the territories of a neutral nation; who had sacrificed to expediency the character of the Country for good faith, and lessened the stability and dignity of international law. The act of the Secretary in demanding an inquiry was a duty and furnished additional evidence of his fitness for the place he was filling. But this was not General Jackson's mode of judging in any case in which he had a personal concern. He conducted public affairs as he managed his own. He assumed the responsibility to do whatever he thought most conducive to the interests of himself, his friends, or his party. If he was opposed, he divided the world into two classes, those who sustained him in the quarrel, public or private, and those who did not. The first were friends, good men and true patriots; like Benton and Blair. The last were base fellows and bad citizens; like Clay and Calhoun. His reasoning in such cases was concise and conclusive. Could any man doubt the patriotism of Andrew Jackson? Had he not always acted with a view solely to the general welfare? Did not every man who opposed him oppose the public good? Were not such men enemies of the Country to be put

down, like Nick Biddle, by all possible means? Has sounder logic ever been chopped in the Schools? The people thought it unanswerable and supported the logician with unlimited zeal.

But although Mr. Calhoun was right in proposing a court of inquiry and in doing so gave no just cause of offence to General Jackson, yet there remains another question respecting the relations between the two parties which is not so easily settled. Whether rightly or wrongly it was Mr. Calhoun who moved the resolution concerning a Court of inquiry on Jackson's conduct in the Seminole war. Jackson believed the mover to be Crawford. He was at feud with the Georgian before, he hated his supposed assailant now still more intensely. He supposed that Calhoun had sustained him in the cabinet. He was therefore the warm admirer of Mr. Calhoun. Did Calhoun know any thing of the additional feud with Crawford and the cause of that feud? Was he informed of the favourable opinion respecting himself entertained by Gen. Jackson and the reason for that favourable opinion? Had he done nothing and said nothing, had his friends done and said nothing, to keep alive this double misapprehension? If he was entirely blameless in this respect, as no doubt he was, and only knew that such misapprehensions existed without promoting them, was it proper for him as an upright man to allow the mistake to continue? Could a man of nice sensibility permit another to be hated and himself to be held in honour with the knowledge that the disclosure of a single fact would reverse their positions?

It may be said that Mr. Calhoun could not reveal the counsels of the Cabinet, however anxious to undeceive Jackson and do justice to Crawford. But this would be claiming a degree of sanctity for cabinet deliberations to which they are not entitled. A cabinet is a public body of a Constitutional government. It is not an Aulic Council nor a social meeting of friends. Many things may require disclosures. In any case the motive would characterise the act. No revelations should be made for idle or sinister ends. But where the purpose is to do justice, to redress a wrong without injury to any public interest, will it be said that the member's lips shall be sealed even when his colleagues consent to his speaking? Who can doubt that Mr. Calhoun could have so spoken on the present occasion? Mr. Adams and the other members of Monroe's cabinet made no scruple to give their statements, at Mr. Calhoun's request, of what passed in the counsels of the Cabinet. Why should Mr. Calhoun have scrupled to do the same thing, at another time, from a similar or higher motive?

If it be suggested that Mr. Calhoun was ignorant of the feelings of Jackson towards Crawford and himself and of the causes of those feelings; the suggestion is by no means probable. Living as Calhoun lived in the world

of politics and kept aware by a hundred friends of all its movements, how could he miss the knowledge of what others knew? Other persons were informed of Jackson's sentiments and opinions. Intimations had been made to the General from time to time that he was mistaken in his judgment of the two Secretaries. Can we suppose that Mr. Calhoun was kept in the dark as to what was passing? General Jackson made no secret of his likes and dislikes or of their causes, Mr. Calhoun could not fail to be informed of them and to know therefore that he was holding a false position in his relations with General Jackson.

It is evident that this was Jackson's view of the subject. When he heard of the statement made by Crawford of what had passed in the Cabinet of Monroe he demanded to see it. He enclosed it when received in a note to Mr. Calhoun and requested to be informed whether the statement was true. Mr. Calhoun replied at great length. He animadverts severely on the conduct of Crawford and on the motives of the men secretly engaged in reviving the memory of events passed twelve years before for the manifest purpose of sowing dissension between himself and General Jackson, "making an instrument of one and a victim of the other." But the truth of the statement as to the Court of Inquiry he substantially admits. General Jackson answered briefly that he had no concern about the conduct of Crawford or the motives of Crawford's friends; that from every thing that had passed between him and Mr. Calhoun he had supposed Calhoun his friend and supporter in Monroe's cabinet; that when it was intimated many years since that it was Calhoun who had been hostile to him, he repulsed the intimation indignantly, that he never expected to be obliged to say to Calhoun "*et tu Brute*", that he had met the suggestion of Mr. Calhoun's having made "injurious movements" against him in the cabinet with a flat denial as an unjust charge on Mr. Calhoun's honour; that until he saw the written statement of Crawford he had given the charge no attention; that he had sent the statement to Mr. Calhoun as a duty due to a friend, expecting a prompt and positive denial; that on the contrary he had received an admission of its truth to his "poignant mortification." This was the single fact, he added, about which he felt any concern. He had received Mr. Calhoun's admission that the fact was true and he would close the correspondence and have nothing to do with any farther alteration. He supposed Mr. Calhoun had been his friend and Mr. Calhoun was his enemy. He had given his friendship under the supposition stated and his friendship was betrayed. He expected a frankness which he had not found and his confidence was gone forever.

If the disclosure of the cabinet proceeding to Jackson at an early period by Mr. Calhoun was due to candour and justice, it must be admitted on the other hand that ordinary State policy led very much the other way.

It was deeply to the interest of Mr. Calhoun as a politician that the deliberations of the Cabinet on the Seminole War should not be revealed. It was obvious to any one knowing the temper of Jackson that the disclosure would excite his anger, make him Calhoun's enemy and destroy the prospects of the Carolina statesman for the great office which had been the object of his life. Jackson's support would be decisive into whatever scale it might be thrown. To expect Mr. Calhoun to be insensible to all this and to volunteer a revelation of facts which would make his foes triumphant and himself "a victim", would be to expect a degree of self-sacrificing virtue quite beyond the limits of public life. No ambitious man could reach it and no ambition of the day was so intense and absorbing as that of Mr. Calhoun. Clay's ambition was tempered by a taste for social pleasures, and Webster's by a feeble will. Mr. Calhoun was pure of all vices but the vice of ambition, which grew stronger by the virtues that restrained him from other indulgencies.

Whatever may have been the reason for the long concealment of Monroe's cabinet secrets, whether it was Mr. Calhoun's misfortune or his fault, the delay and forced disclosure placed him in a disadvantageous position. It enabled his enemies to represent his conduct as wanting in frankness and fair dealing. It took away from his explanations, when they were drawn from him, all grace and force. The irascible autocrat was enraged at what he considered, or was enabled to call, the long-hidden treachery of a supposed friend. He would not have been able under any circumstances, to remain neutral between the two sections into which his followers were divided under Van Buren and Calhoun. He would be disposed to side with the supple and subservient, with Van Buren and Blair. These men were enabled to secure his favour by the statement of Crawford and to arouse his implacable hatred against Calhoun and his supporters. The highest office in the government was the reward of a political intrigue. Whether Mr. Calhoun might not have played his game better, whether a franker course with Jackson at the beginning would not have been the sounder policy, may perhaps admit of a question.

About the Rhea letter of which I have spoken there is still a mystery. There is no doubt that there was such a letter written to Jackson by Rhea respecting the mode of conducting the Seminole War; that the letter was burnt some time after by General Jackson at Rhea's request; that Rhea asserted he had written the letter and made the request to destroy it at the President's desire. Mr. Monroe denied all knowledge of Rhea's letter. Except the assertion of Rhea there is nothing to connect the President with the transaction. The question is one of veracity between Rhea and Monroe. We must choose between the Senator and the President. Perhaps we may solve the difficulty partially by conjecturing that Rhea, a good

humoured man, informed of Jackson's wishes, had some conversation with the President and anxious to promote Jackson's plans construed vague expressions into assent and made such a report to the General as would enable him to act at discretion in conducting the war. But this solution would not extend to the pretended request that the letter should be destroyed. That may have been Rhea's device to get out of the dilemma in which his good nature had involved him with his two friends.

During the time of the unlucky quarrel between Jackson and Calhoun, the South Carolina delegation, as I have said, refrained from visiting at the White House. They refused to pay their personal respects to a man who had threatened their chief city by sending a sloop of war into her harbour, and who had shaken a halter over the heads of her most distinguished Statesmen. The delegation abstained from a visit even on the great occasion when a cheese, six feet in diameter and nearly a ton's weight, gave evidence on a table in the East room of the devotion felt by Northern dairy men for the President's virtues; when all who wished, attended, admired, eat, and carried away in their pockets a fragment of the feast. In consequence of this self exclusion from the President's mansion, I had no opportunity of getting a good look at his features. The best I enjoyed was at Church. He attended the preaching of the Revd. Dr. Post and sat in a pew on the right hand side of the pulpit, half facing the larger part of the congregation. There was great firmness but no ferocity in the long, thin, solemn, face and white bristling hair of the old soldier. He might have taken the Preacher's place in the pulpit, so far as appearances go, with decided advantage to the Sunday services. The pastor's face was rather sour and querulous than grave or impressive. The President's aspect gave one a fair notion of a Cameronian in the days of Dundee. It was calm, resolute; ready, it would seem, at a moment's warning, for fight or exhortation. He was devoutly attentive to the services, shook hands at their close with the few who were near him and went his way, thinking perhaps of the deceased wife whom he tenderly loved, who had been his good angel and to whom the Church had always been a place of joy, or, possibly he may have departed pondering on the machinations of Nick Biddle and the Bank. There was some resemblance between the two men—the President and the great South Carolina Senator—once friends, now implacable foes. They were of the same Scotch-Irish stock and exhibited its characteristic traits. In both were seen the long face, the hollow jaws, the thick bristling hair, the tall, gaunt, erect figure, which belong to the race. Each of them had great strength of will and force of character. There was one feature of their common ancestry in which General Jackson was probably superior to his opponent—he was the best hater. But even here the resemblance is not lost. It is said of Mr. Calhoun that he tolerated no political heresies,

and broke down in his own State and never forgave the politician who opposed his opinions. He made many enemies in doing so. One of these was Judge William Smith, for some time a member of the Senate at Washington from South Carolina.

Judge Smith had lost his seat in the Senate through the hostility of the Calhoun party. His district, York, sent him to the Senate of the State, where he carried on the war by a series of resolutions in opposition to others offered by Judge Prioleau and passed by the legislature previously under the influences of Mr. Calhoun and his friends. Smith was not a man to submit tamely. His temper was irascible and his will as strong as that of his enemy. During the session a print was shown to the Judge exhibiting Calhoun as a fiery young racer, eager for the course, and kicking down all who came near him, Judge Smith among the rest. "Yes!" said the old man, after grimly examining the picture, "Yes! but damn him if he had been bridle-wise, he would not have done it." It is not surprising that Judge Smith was indignant at being kicked out from the Senate of the United States. It was the choicest place in the gift of the people. Nor is it all improbable that the too free use of his heels on those that stood in his way had much to do in preventing the young charger's success on the course. It increased the weight that he carried in the race and was probably the cause of his losing it at last.

If the impatient ambition of Mr. Calhoun was unfavourable to his own fortunes, the autocratic spirit of his antagonist was disastrous to those of the Republic. Jackson revolutionized the government. He established the pernicious system which Marcy concisely described when he said "to the victors belong the spoils". The maxim before had been "office to the most meritorious". The practice of Washington in distributing places was in accordance with this maxim. Is he able, is he honest, were the questions asked in reference to persons appointed. The principle was respected, if not strictly followed, by all succeeding Presidents until Jackson came. He changed every thing. The spoils must now go to the victors. Is the applicant a thorough party man, is he a staunch adherent of the President, has he been an active supporter of the dominant faction—these are the questions that have displaced the old fashioned inquiries of the early Republic. The change demoralized the Country. Offices are now the rewards of party tools. At the end of every four years there is a fight of factions. In every pot house there is a scramble for office. Hordes of mercenaries, carpet-bag in hand, swarm in the streets of Washington. They gather after every election like ravenous wolves. They besiege the departments. They invade the White House. They harass the President. The Chief Executive Officer of the government is a great office broker for four years. The final cause of a Presidential election is to dis-

tribute places anew, to arrange jobs, to reward partizans of every grade from Secretary of State to door-keeper. Is it surprising that speedy ruin to the Country has been the consequence? If fit men had held the great offices of the government the measures which have destroyed the Republic would never have been known.

The alliance between Mr. Calhoun and the Whigs proved to be a hollow truce. It terminated as such truces are apt to do, in a more violent quarrel between the parties. They had united to hunt the old lion of the Hermitage. He had now disappeared from the field. The New York "Fox" was in his place. In the extra session of 1837 called by Jackson's successor, the Carolina Statesman changed his position and went over to the democratic side; or rather, as he was accustomed to say, they came over to him. He saw and said that any victory resulting from a league with the Whigs would conduce to their benefit only. He found that the counsels of the "Fox", who was presiding, were sounder than the doctrine or practice of the abdicated lion. He supported the more astute animal accordingly. The invectives of 1834 were no longer remembered in 1837. After a few months of decent delay Mr. Calhoun visited Mr. Van Buren. They buried the hatchet and smoked the calumet of friendship in the parlour of the White House. Carolina sustained her Statesman as she always did. She had repudiated the New York politician as a trickster in 1836; she voted for his reelection in 1840. A few refused to perform the somerset and were driven, like Preston, from the councils of the Country, contrary to the usual and more manly practice of the State. The sneerers in Washington were addicted to saying that if Mr. Calhoun took snuff, the State of South Carolina sneezed incontinently. The action of the State in reference to Van Buren was regarded as a confirmation of the scandalous assertion. There was one exception among the people of South Carolina. The election district in which Mr. Calhoun resided and which General Waddy Thompson represented in Congress, refused to sneeze and disappointed the scoffers. Thompson was triumphant against the attempt to drive him from his seat for not appreciating the newly discovered virtues of Mr. Van Buren.

It is not to be supposed that so important a change could pass without notice. In the nicely balanced State of parties the support of Mr. Calhoun was enough to turn the scale, to give victory to the Democrats and defeat the Whigs. Mr. Clay was not a man to see his party defeated with quiet acquiescence. He launched against his late ally all the lightnings of his vehemence and sarcastic eloquence. He upbraided the "deserter". He assailed the whole political course of the South Carolina Senator as a series of desertions. He charged the Senator with having abandoned every principle that they were once united in supporting—the bank, the protective

tariff, the internal improvement system. The Senator, he said, now denounces all; he once maintained them all.

Mr. Calhoun replied in a vigorous speech. He denied that he had deserted a party or abandoned a principle. He belonged to no party. He stood still only and if he acted sometimes with one party, sometimes with another, it was because they sought his company, not he theirs. He had supported the bank, the tariff, internal improvement, it was true, but there had been at the time some special reason why they should be supported. He had always seen and sustained the measures most conducive to the public welfare. His judgment had not been at fault; his motives were always pure. It had not been so with his opponent. He taunted Mr. Clay with the bargain that had made Adams President, and Clay Secretary of State. He represented the Kentucky Senator as a rider of hobbies all his life and as riding them always to death. He charged the Senator with abandoning principle habitually for compromise, truth for expediency.

Mr. Clay replied at once with great vehemence. He scorned the stale slander set afloat by George Kremer, of Pennsylvania, respecting a corrupt bargain in the election of Mr. Adams. He had voted for Mr. Adams as the better Statesman and the better man. That Adams was the better Statesman Mr. Calhoun himself thought at the time of the election. He retorted on the Senator from South Carolina. The Senator not long since had denounced Mr. Van Buren as everything pitiful and contemptible, as a crouching, creeping, crafty, fox, and had lately kissed hands at the White House and taken service under the Van Buren flag with the hope of future advancement. The Senator had charged him with riding hobbies and riding them to death; his accuser was like a courier on a journey and rode relays of expedients, changing them as necessity or convenience suggested. He and the Carolina Senator began political life together as advocates of a bank, of a protective tariff, of a system of internal improvement. He continued to advocate them; the Senator now opposed them all. The special reasons assigned for opposing today what was supported yesterday are subterfuges only, the ready resort of every deserter and trimmer. He was a friend of compromise, he admitted; all legislation implies compromise; government itself is a compromise. He had proposed the compromise between Nullification and the force bill. He had interposed to save the gallant State of South Carolina from the peril and disgrace into which the counsels of her Senator were about to plunge her. But for his interposition and compromise then, he doubted whether he would have the honour now of meeting the Senator face to face in the Senate. Mr. Calhoun, he said, had been glad to escape from the Military Chieftain at the head of affairs and from his summary proceedings. To escape, the Senator had submitted to every provision required in the compromise, however averse to

them—the long time, the ultimate rate of duty, the home valuation, the most hateful provision to the Senator of them all. The author of Nullification fled from the consequences of his own schemes and was glad to get away at any sacrifice.

Mr. Calhoun affirmed, in answer, that the Compromise bill of 1833 was a measure arranged by the Senator of Kentucky for nobody's benefit but his own. General Jackson with Mr. Webster was about to draw away Clay's party from his side, to turn him out of his own house, to leave him floundering like a whale in shallow water. To escape this fate the Kentucky Senator fled to compromise. It was Mr. Calhoun who ruled the occasion, who had been Mr. Clay's master, who had the Senator flat on his back, who had assisted the compromiser to retain his post and party.

Mr. Clay replied with unmeasured disdain. "He, my master," the indignant orator exclaimed, "I would not own him as a slave! He, my master! I submit to his dictation! I gloried, at the time, in my strength. I carried the bill through Congress in spite of Jackson, in spite of the Senator from Massachusetts, in spite of the unavailing efforts to modify it of the gentlemen himself. He was compelled reluctantly to take what I was willing to give."

And thus these two distinguished men, hour after hour, bandied words and hurled at each other crimination and recrimination to the mortification or amusement of their brother Senators and the intense delight of the mob that filled the galleries. Each claimed for himself perfect consistency in his political career, infallible judgment and unwavering integrity pure from all mixed motives of personal advancement. Each imputed to the other the basest designs of a vulgar ambition. To the impartial observer, the contention was the conflict of two aspiring rivals pursuing the same objects with equal eagerness. If they believed what each claimed for himself of unselfish devotion to the public good, they might have exhibited a little more charity towards each other. If they believed what each said of the other, it should have taught them a juster judgment of themselves.

It is amusing to see the readiness with which a party leader will arrogate for himself an entire exemption from interested motives. He may have erred, he will modestly say, in the choice of his measures; who is not liable to err? Or he may have been feeble in supporting the measures chosen; though he had given his best ability to the Country's service.

But as to the purity of his motives and his disinterested devotion to the people's welfare and nothing else—that, he assumes boldly, is above all suspicion. If a lawyer should assert that he manages his cases, cajoles the jury and bullies the judge, from sheer love of justice and his clients, or a physician declare that he prescribes and administers his drugs, daily and nightly, with a view only to promote the people's health, he could not be

a more impudent imposter. It is but justice to the lawyer and physician to say that they never attempt to cheat themselves or others with any such pretences. The small annual bills presented to their friends are too regular to permit such delusions to be possible. But the politician lives on the general fund at Washington or Richmond. He takes no fees directly from his supporters and sends in no bills at the end of the year. He rather confers benefits than receives them while in office. He is able to play the part therefore of a disinterested patriot serving his Country for his Country's good, never for his own. He identifies himself with the Country. "I am the State", has been said perhaps by the French monarch alone; but it is thought by every aspiring politician who makes public employment the object of his life. He and his party are the State. While they are in office, the Country prospers. When they are ousted by their opponents, the Country is ruined. It is the general good only that gives them concern. They are State physicians who practise for the patient's health only; lawyers labouring all their lives for love of right with no thought of fees. And with this impudent imposture the good people are perpetually duped. The hook is always in Leviathan's jaws and the fisherman never fails to persuade the gullible beast that the process is one intended for his welfare or amusement solely.

(To be continued)

LETTERS AND WILL OF ROBERT PRINGLE (1702-1776)*

Edited by MARY PRINGLE FENHAGEN

Robert Pringle, the progenitor of the family in Charleston, arrived about 1725 with some money to make his start in Carolina. His father, Robert Pringle, was a wealthy man, leaving at the time of his death in Edinburgh in April 1738, £ 20, 495 Sterling, besides the lands of Symington, Fernihirst, and Bangrubb,¹ "held by charters from the crown, which every individual proprietor got renewed on his accession".² All claim to this estate had been renounced by the younger sons, Robert Pringle of Carolina and Andrew Pringle³ of Exeter, England, "when they had been put to employment with suitable provision." By the time of Robert Pringle's marriage on July 18, 1734, to Jane Allen (b. June 8, 1718-d. June 3, 1746), daughter of Andrew Allen,⁴ a successful merchant of Carolina, he himself was well established.⁵ It was through this marriage, which seems to have been a happy one although childless, that Robert Pringle acquired the town lots⁶ on which he was to build two different dwellings.⁷ He writes his wife, who has been sent north to improve her health, as follows:

* This completes the publication of Robert Pringle's surviving papers as known to this writer. "Entries in the Old Bible of Robert Pringle," annotated by Henry A. M. Smith, appeared in this *Magazine* XXII (1921), 25-33; and "Journal of Robert Pringle, 1746-1747," annotated by Mabel L. Webber, in XXVI (1925), 21-30, 93-112.

¹ Alex. Pringle, *The Records of the Pringles or Hoppringills of the Scottish Border* (hereinafter cited as *R. of P.*), (Edinburgh, 1933), p. 85.

² Major-General John Pringle (Sept. 28, 1774-Dec. 29, 1861) of Edinburgh, to William Alston Pringle (Dec. 2, 1823-Feb. 27, 1895) of Charleston (hereinafter cited as *MS Letter #1*), Aug. 13, 1846; original owned by Ashmead F. Pringle.

³ "Andrew Pringle went to sea and made a small competency in the merchant service and lived to a great age; and died in the city of Exeter in Devonshire in the year 1790, leaving no children, never having married." *MS Letter #1*. Will of Andrew Pringle of Clifton, Esq., proved in 1790 "in the P.C.C." recorded in Somerset House, London, left something to his nephew John (Julius) Pringle of Carolina. *SCH GM*, XII, 218.

⁴ *Ibid.* XXII, 25, 30, 31; XII, 55; XIII, 57.

⁵ The roster of the regiment formed in Nov. 2, 1738 by William Bull, President of the Council, in anticipation of trouble with Spain, lists Mr. Robert Pringle as adjutant. *Ibid.* II, 134, note T.

⁶ In consideration of the marriage between Jane Allen and Robert Pringle, Andrew Allen conveyed to them a parcel 73 feet front on Tradd Street and 195 feet in depth, running across the Lots, Nos. 87 and 88. Alice R. Huger Smith and D. E. Huger Smith, *The Dwelling Houses of Charleston*, (Philadelphia, 1917), pp. 104, 120, 123, 124.

⁷ Upon the west portion of this land (north side of Tradd St., one lot west from Meeting St.) Robert Pringle built in 1742 a three-story brick house, recently pulled down, long used by his son, John Julius Pringle, as a law office. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

Mrs. Jane Pringle⁸ at Mr. John Erving's [torn] In Boston

Charles Town, So. Carolina
August 30th 1740

My Dearest—

Since you went from this, I have writt you on the 22 June c/o Charles Pinckney⁹ on the 5th July c/o a Brig for Boston, on the 11th Ditto c/o Mr. Arch. Ramsey, and on the 29th and 30th July c/o Mr. Wragg's Sloop,¹⁰ Capt. Mason, Com., and sent by him three turtles and a Barrell of potatoes in a present for Mrs. Erving — all which hope you have Received. And since have your most welcome and agreeable favours of the 5th July by Capt. Watson,¹¹ and two Days ago yours of the 20th July by Capt. Hinkley with some News papers [torn] out of order with a Cold but that you was again perfectly Restored [Recovered?] which pray God continues. I am Surprised you do not Mention to have seen Mr. Pinckney, when you saw Mr. Whitaker¹² and Capt. Carruthers, he went in the same Ship with them and I Gave him a letter for you and one for Mr. Erving. You will observe My Dearest that I have writt you by every Opportunity I could, and hope they all come to your hands. I observe by yours it begins to be Cold with you already in Boston. I have writt Mr. Erving by this Conveyance (and shall likewise by Snelling¹³ who arrived here in a Sloop a few Days ago, and will sail again in a week) that I have Left to you to come away whenever you think proper and when a good Opportunity presents, in case that it may be too late for you before Capt. Nicholson happens to arrive, as you have been used to a Warm Climate in Charleston. [torn] agree with you there [torn] miss a good Opportunity of Returning in all the Month of October, which believe will be a proper time. I sold the Negro boy Jack, that you Desire me to send Mr. Erving, in ten days or a fortnight after you

⁸ Original letter owned by Mrs. William V. Neel, Henderson, Ky.

⁹ Col. Charles Pinckney had accumulated a large fortune at the bar, was also a planter, one time Speaker of the House of Assembly, and a member of the Royal Council. At this time he was childless, and his first wife, a daughter of Capt. Lamb of Devonshire Square, London, was still living. Harriett Horry Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney* (New York, 1896), p. 87.

¹⁰ "Cleared for departure: Sloop, Sarah, John Mason, Com., for Boston." *S. C. Gazette*, July 25, 1740.

¹¹ "Entered inwards, Schooner Rebecca, John Watson, Com., from Boston." *Ibid.* Aug. 1, 1740.

¹² Charlestown. "By private letters from Boston in New England, we hear, that the Hon. Ch: Pinckney, and the Hon. Benj. Whitaker, Esq., Chief Justice of this Province, and their ladies were all safely arrived there, and in good health." *Ibid.* Aug. 23, 1740.

¹³ Custom House: "Entered inwards, Sloop Merrymack, Abr. Snelling, Com., from Boston." Also, "Entered outward, Sloop Merrymack, Snelling, Com., for Boston." *Ibid.*

went from this — and have advised him of Same accordingly and that there have no good Boys been Imported since. We are all well at present and the Weather has hitherto been very Healthy and Seasonable.

The Negro Wench Maria was Safely Delivered of a Girl about Ten Days agoe, and both she and her child are very well.

Your two Gowns that were sent to London to my Brother¹⁴ to be Dyed are both come back, and seem to be very well Done. I am to Desire you may bring with you a Small Sortinent of Garden Seeds, those you sent by Capt. Cowie¹⁵ were very Good. Your Brother-in-law and Nieces¹⁶ are all well. Bro. Wm. Allen¹⁷ went to Port Royall about Ten Days agoe, and is not yet Returned. We had a Report in June last of some Negroes Intending to make an Insurrection, but was timely Discovered and the Ring Leaders punished.¹⁸ Mrs. Reid has lately miscarried but is now pretty well again, and who with Mr. Reid present you their Service.¹⁹ Capt. Murray

¹⁴ Andrew Pringle.

¹⁵ Custom House: "Entered inwards, Sloop Charming Betty, James Cowie, Com., from Boston." *S. C. Gazette*, July 25, 1740.

¹⁶ George Smith, second son of second Landgrave Thomas Smith, who married Dec. 18, 1723, Elizabeth Allen (April 13, 1707-Nov. 4, 1734), only sister of Jane Allen Pringle, had three children, Ann Smith, b. Feb. 2, 1725, Sarah Smith, b. May 19, 1730, and Jane Smith, b. June 11, 1728, who are probably the ones here referred to. *SCH GM*, XX, 9, 10, 73; XXII, 30; XXVI, 21; XXIX, 190.

¹⁷ William Allen, born Oct. 28, 1720, was dead by May 1751, when his widow, Mary (Keating), born Jan. 8, 1721, married George Seaman. *Ibid.*, XXII, 30, 31; XXXVII, 149; XXIV, 18; VIII, 211.

¹⁸ There is an interesting account of the start of the expedition to help Oglethorpe against the Spanish, who also were thought to have sent agents to stir up the slaves. *S. C. Gazette*, April 4, 1740.

¹⁹ James Reid at his store on Elliot St. has imported articles of wear for sale. *Ibid.*, Dec. 29, 1739. In his "Journal," Oct. 4, 1746, Robert Pringle mentions a present of oranges sent to both a James and a Peter Reid. The James Reid is identified as Dr. James Reid, which is probably an error as Dr. James Reid was born in 1728. "At 'Pringle Bend' just 6 miles formerly from the County seat of Colleton, Walterboro, standing back from highway in a clump of trees, are 2 gravestones of those who once lived there and from whom the place got its name. The smaller of the 2 stones is still standing, but broken, and plainly visible is the inscription: 'In memory of Mrs. Mary Pringle, the wife of Robert Pringle, who departed this life August 14, 1784, aged 18 years.' The other stone has fallen and is broken but it is of unusual width, at least 4 feet wide, and deeply engraved are the words: 'James Reid, Esq., who departed this life on Thursday, the 12th day of October, at 35 minutes after 11 in the evening, of the year of Our Lord 1769, aged 41 years.' Beulah Glover, "12 Mile Joy Ride Just Right for Sunday in Buggy Days," *News and Courier*, May 21, 1933. The James Reid referred to in this letter and the "Journal" must have been the James Reid who died Feb. 18, 1779, in the 78th year of his age. *SCH GM*, XVII, 154. Mrs. Reid may be Dorothy, wife of James Reid, who had a son Thomas, born Feb. 21, 1738. *Register of St. Philip's*. Also, in Henry Laurens' letter, Dec. 23, 1748, mention is made of a firm of merchants in Charleston, Reid & Stewart. *SCH GM*, XXXI, 38.

goes in a Day or Two to Cape Fare in a Schooner²⁰ to load Pitch for Mr. Reid for Boston and goes Consigned to Mr. Erving. We have no Material News here at present only that we have a fine Prospect of as Large a Crop or Larger than [torn] This will be Delivered you by Mr. Fowler²¹ who is become one of Parson Whitefield's Disciples. His wife and he goe in his Sloop with him to Boston, and believe goe more to attend the Parson²² than for his Health. This is the Second time Parson Whitfield has been in Town^{23a} since you went from this, and is much admired by the Women.

Please present my humble Service to Mr. Wragg and Mrs. Wragg²³ and in particular to Mr. Erving and Mrs. Erving, — All Friends desire to be Remembered to you, I shall doe my Self the pleasure to write you again by Capt. Snelling who will goe from this to Boston in a week. Meantime I Remain My Dearest

Your Very Loving and Affect. Husb. and Most Humble Ser't

Robert Pringle

The date of the return of Jane Allen Pringle to Charleston in fall of 1740 is uncertain, but as the great fire swept a part of Charleston November 18, 1740, and damaged particularly the section where the merchants were, she came back to find things changed. Her husband's finances could not have been too seriously impaired because in 1742 he erected a three-story brick dwelling²⁴ on the west half of his lot on Tradd Street, and in 1744 he was a contributor to Commissary Garden's School for Negroes.^{24a}

²⁰ Custom House: "Entered outwards: Schooner Charming Molly, John Murray, Com., for Cape Fear." *S. C. Gazette*, Aug. 23, 1740. Also, Schooner Charming Molly, John Murray, Com., for Philadelphia. *Ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1740.

²¹ James Fowler married Martha Widdicombe, March 5, 1723/24. *Register of St. Philip's*. The *S. C. Gazette*, Apr. 4, 1740, reports that James Fowler had been elected a Firemaster, one of the parish officers for the following year. The *Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1740, calls on all indebted to James Fowler either by bond, note, or book debt, to discharge the same to Edward Fowler within two months after that date, Mr. James Fowler being gone to the northward, where he designs to move his family soon.

²² "On Friday of the 22 of this Inst. arrived from Savannah in Georgia the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield and though very much weakened by his late indisposition, has preached here once a day ever since his arrival. He was yesterday to sail for Boston, but is detained here by contrary winds, and will preach every day during his stay." *S. C. Gazette*, Aug. 23, 1740. Custom House: "Cleared for departure: Sloop Savannah, William Grant, Com., for Boston. *Ibid.*

^{23a} George Whitefield had been in Charleston previously in March 1740. Edward McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government* (hereinafter cited as *Roy. Gov.*), (New York, 1899), p. 235.

²³ Mr. Joseph Wragg has gone to Boston for his health, June 3, 1740. *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*, II, 271.

²⁴ Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel, *Charleston the Place and the People* (New York, 1927), p. 116.

^{24a} *Roy. Gov.*, p. 246.

Robert Pringle's relationship with his two brothers in Britain continued warm and affectionate. With the death of his wife, he began planning to visit home but not with a view to staying, because his house was only "let" to Alex. Stewart²⁵ with the understanding that Pringle or his attorney Mr. George Inglis, could put Stewart out when the house should be needed.²⁶ Robert Pringle's "Journal" makes references to his business connections with his brother Andrew,²⁷ and the following letter is to his older brother Thomas Pringle of Symington:

Charles Town So. Ca.
October 21st 1746

Dear Loving Brother²⁸—

I have the pleasure of being favoured by a letter from you on the 1st October 1743 which I received at the hands of John Brown about fifteen or eighteen months after the date thereof and since our Brother Andrew advised me that he had not heard from you for a considerable time past which I apprehend might be on account of the rebellion²⁹ that had put a stop to all regular communication by Post and had been the occasion of my not giving a return to yours before this, and I now take the opportunity of our friend Sr. James Home, Bart.³⁰ who does me the favour to be the bearer of this and with whom I wish a happy meeting. I am very glad to be informed that you have entered so agreeably into the state of Matrimony,³¹ and so much to your satisfaction, in which I heartily wish you and your family all the felicity you desire, and hope this shall find you and your spouse and your little son,³² my namesake, in perfect health. I have had the misfortune to loose my dear wife, 3rd of June last, to my great

²⁵ "May 18, 1763, died Alexander Stewart, aged 72 years, who came over here in or about the year 1715, and has acted many years as a magistrate and register of his Majesty's court of chancery." A. S. Salley, ed., *Death Notices in the South-Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* (Columbia, S. C., 1917), p. 31.

²⁶ "Journal of Robert Pringle," *SCH GM*, XXVI, 107.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 94, 103. Also, letter of Henry Laurens, July 29, 1747, to James Crokatt, seems to indicate that Andrew Pringle was one of those London Merchants on the receiving end of the Carolina trade. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 103.

²⁸ Original letter owned by Ashmead F. Pringle.

²⁹ "Sent Thos. Elliott in a present a Plan of the Battell of Culloden in a Frame." "Journal of Robert Pringle," Dec. 23, 1746, *SCH GM*, XXVI, 95.

³⁰ This morning sailed Sir James Home, Bart., for England. *S. C. Gazette*, Nov. 3, 1746.

³¹ Thomas Pringle of Symington, writer, to Janet Blair, daughter of the late John Blair, surgeon, Nov. 15, 1741. "The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1701-1750," *Scottish Record Society* (hereinafter cited as *S. R. S.*), XXXV, 437.

³² "Thomas Pringle had three children, Robert Pringle, my father, born Sept. 26, 1743, Elizabeth who died early, and Ann who married the Rev. John Starr, both of whom are dead without children." *MS Letter #1.*

grief and loss after having lived very happily together for eleven years—she has left me no children behind her. My wife had been very sickly and enjoyed but a bad state of health for some years before her death, having had her constitution broken thro constant miscarriages in childbearing. What good offices I have been capable of rendering the young man John Brown in regard to your recommendation I do assure you has not been wanting. He was sometime in pretty good business as clerk to a merchant in this town, but having an offer of better encouragement he quitted it and is gone to New Providence one of the Bahama Islands where he is now with Messrs. Marshall and Blyth Merchants there in good business, and if he lives is likely to do very well. Our friend, Mr. Alexander Murray,³³ naval officer, dyed here the 27 of last month much lamented by all who were of his acquaintance and as to the situation of his affairs I refer you to Sir James Home who can inform you thereof. I am told that he left about or near £ 1000 Sterling. Our brother advises me in his last letter of the 25 of July (which I received a few days ago) that he was that day to set out for Sunderland to meet our Cousin Mr. Ainslie³⁴ there not having time to go quite to Scotland, but that he intended the said journey this summer when I hope (God willing) to have the desired pleasure of accompanying him there as I propose to go to London this fall if a good opportunity offers, if not, (Please God) very early in the Spring of the year, when I flatter myself of enjoying the long wished for pleasure of seeing my relations and friends.

Sir James Home had several posts or places of good Income before he had the agreeable news of the estate and title that has so happily fallen upon him. He has been fatigued in waiting for the sailing of the King's Ship, the Tartar, in which he goes Passenger and which has detained him a considerable time. I hope soon to have the pleasure of writing to you much nearer home so that I add not further at present but I beg leave to

³³ "On Saturday last died, Alexander Murray, Esq; of the Naval Office, a Gentleman of an universal good Character (Saturday, October 4, 1746)." A. S. Salley, ed., *Death Notices in the South Carolina Gazette*, p. 21.

³⁴ Three Ainslies were merchants at this time, sons of "Alexander Ainslie who applied himself to the business of commerce, became a considerable merchant, and for the convenience of the shipping and his foreign trade, resided sometime at Leith"; George Ainslie who settled at Bordeaux, Alexander Ainslie a merchant-burgess of Edinburgh, and Robert Ainslie, a considerable merchant at Hull in Yorkshire. Sir Robert Douglas, *The Baronage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1798), pp. 303, 304.

There were several marriages between the Ainslies and the Rutherfords and the mother of Robert and Thomas Pringle was Anna Rutherford who married their father at Channelkirk, in 1687. *R. of P.*, p. 85.

There seems no reason to assume this is Mr. John Ainslie of Carolina. *SCH GM*, XX, 28-31, 63, 73, 140.

enjoin you with my compliments to your spouse my sister and I truly am dear Loving Brother, your affectionate Brother and most Humble servant

Robert Pringle

Having put his business affairs in order, and sold some of his household furniture, books, two slaves, a good chaise horse at public sale, and his chaise to Mr. Thomas Buntin, Robert Pringle sailed on August 9, 1747, for Topsham and Exeter on board the Ship "James," Samuel Ball, Captain. Two days later the ship was seized by a Spanish privateer sloop and all on board stripped of their possessions excepting the clothes on their backs. A month later they were set ashore at St. Augustine and from there made their way back to Charleston, arriving November 22, 1747.³⁵ But by September 14, 1748, Robert Pringle had arrived safely in Edinburgh. At that time the Council of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Brethren made Robert Pringle of Carolina an honorary Merchant Burgess and Guild Brother.³⁶ On his way south after leaving Edinburgh, he wrote the following letter to his brother, Thomas Pringle of Symington:³⁷

To: Mr. Thomas Pringle of Symintown, Writer In Edinburgh
York, Sept. 29, 1748.

Dear Loving Brother,

I am now in my journey gott to the Heighth of York, and at my coming here this morning from Burroughbridge found your most esteemed favours for me of the 24th Inst., in answer to mine of the 20th and am very glad you gott well home, I having been in all the bad weather you mention on the road, the same as you had tho' without any bad effect, (thank God). Since my goeing from Newcastle, I went to Timemouth, North and South Sheilds, Sunderland, Durham, and Stockton, and I took in my way here, Whitby and Scarburough, and from Malton, I made an excursion, in my way here to see two very fine Seats, viz: that of Castle Howard,³⁸ belonging to the Earle of Carlisle, near Malton, and so cross the country to that

³⁵ "Mr. Pringle, a merchant in this place, carried prisoner to St. Augustine, where he saw one hundred and sixty English sailors, prisoners, besides great numbers who were carried to the Havanna." *Collections of the S. C. Hist. Soc.*, II, p. 297. *SCH GM*, XXVI, 99-112.

³⁶ *S. R. S.*, LXII, p. 164.

³⁷ Original Letter owned by Ernest H. Pringle.

³⁸ Sir John Vanbrugh, who has been called the great designer of baroque architecture in England, completed the plans for Castle Howard by 1699. Its erection went on steadily until 1715, simultaneously with the building of Blenheim for that most difficult of clients, the Duchess of Marlborough. Most interesting letters between this architect and his clients have been published. Geoffrey Webb, ed., *The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh* (London, 1928), 1V.

of Studley Park³⁹ belonging to Mr. Aislaby near Rippon, both very well worth seeing, being two very grand Seats. I intend from this to Leeds, Halifax, and Wakefield, and so cross the country, to the County of Norfolk, so that I have as yet hardly performed the half of my journey to London. My servant Joseph, and horses perform very well, which is a great comfort.

I had the pleasure of a letter from our Brother which mett me at Scarborough, and am now to write him this Postt. As my journey from this, till I gett to London will be very uncertain, I would not give you the trouble of any to me, till I gett to our Brother's, which I hope will be in about three weeks hence when shall be glad of the pleasure of hearing from you. In the meantime I am to enjoin you with my compliments to all our friends, and in the most particular manner to Mr. Philp's⁴⁰ Family, my good Sister, and pretty Robie, and Betsey, and I truely am, My Dear Brother, Your most affect. Brother and Obedient Servant

Robert Pringle

To: Mr. Robert Pringle⁴¹ London

Coatshall, March 16th, 1749

Dear Loving Brother,

I have the Pleasure of yours of the 11th and in answer, I am frequently troubled in the spring with a cold and a vertigo or singing in the head which is very uneasy to me on its continuance. But I am now somewhat recovered. Altho' Mr. Moultrie is now admitted a Doctor I have not yet seen him, tho he promised to see me and give me one of his printed Thesis.⁴² I

³⁹ Studley Royal was laid out in the formal Dutch style, by John Aislaby (1670-1742). Although John Aislaby had been dead for six years at this time, the man on whose head the South Sea Co.'s bubble had burst must still have been interesting to his contemporaries. John Aislaby, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had urged the adoption of the South Sea Co.'s proposal to pay off the British national debt. When the Company shortly thereafter failed, John Aislaby stood trial for complicity but was let off after paying a large fine. He retired to his country place, Studley Royal, on which he had lavished much money he had gained in his speculations. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XI edition.

⁴⁰ This could be either James Philp, Esq., judge of the high court of admiralty in Scotland, made a burgess Aug. 10, 1757, for good services, or John Philp of Greenlaw, Esq., auditor in exchequer, made a burgess for good services, Jan. 13, 1748. *S. R. S.*, LXII, p. 161.

⁴¹ This letter written by Thomas Pringle of Symington, to Robert Pringle while Robert was on his visit to Britain, is taken from a copy of the letter which is in Ravenel Letter Book, 54, on deposit at the S. C. Hist. Soc., but the letter states it was copied from the original owned by Mr. William Alston Pringle.

⁴² John Moultrie (Jan. 18, 1729-Mch. 19, 1798), son of John Moultrie, M.D., and Lucretia Cooper, graduated from the Univ. of Edinburgh in 1749. His thesis was "De Febre Maligna Biliosa Americae." *Dictionary of American Biography* (New

seldom or never see him unless he expects a letter from our Brother enclosed in mine. I do not think it reasonable our Brother should advance any money to these sparks until he is in hand by property from their parents or friends.⁴³ John Hinsbie, it seems is the old man, as indolent and idly inclined as ever. As you are again designed for Carolina and soon to return for good and all it gives me no small joy that you are to be so near me and desire you will renew your promise either before you set out or soon after your return of sending me your picture⁴⁴ in order to place it in my hall amongst our friends, which my beloved wife is now most anxious about and is in good health with Robie and Betsie and join their most humble service to you and our Brother and believe me with the greatest sincerity, Dear Loving Brother, Your most affectionate Brother and most humble Servant

Thomas Pringle

P.s. As you are designed to tarry in Britain all summer, I desire you will make another jaunt to this place when you will meet with a hearty welcome from your landlady who is now in a much better condition to attend you than she was last year and the young ladies of your acquaintance still in a single state and my mason is under a contract of building me a better house before the first of May in the place you pitched upon Homewall.

Thomas Pringle
Coatshall

To: Thomas Pringle of Symington, Writer In Edinburgh

London, the 4th November 1749

Dear Loving Brother,⁴⁵

I have your kind favours of the 7th Ult. and am very glad to be informed that you, my Sister, and the little ones are all in perfect health.

I now sett out in two days for the West of England to meet the ship, I am to embark in for Carolina, and shall doe myself the pleasure to write you as often as I can have opportunity. My Picture, I believe, is finished and I leave it under the Care of our Brother to be sent you.

York, 1984). Robert Pringle had noted in his "Journal," May 17, 1746, that he gave Dr. Moultrie and his son John in a present for his Sea Store, 2 Loaf Sugar, 1 Doz. Claret. And also on May 23, 1746, John Moultrie sailed over the bar. *SCH GM*, XXVI, 22.

⁴³ Andrew Pringle must have supplied John Moultrie with funds from bills of exchange from his father in Carolina.

⁴⁴ This portrait of Robert Pringle was painted and delivered as will be seen from the following letter. It remained in the family in Edinburgh until the death of Robert Pringle (Jan. 28, 1845–March 1930), when his surviving children sent it as a gift to Nell McColl Pringle.

⁴⁵ This is the last letter written by Robert Pringle while he was in Britain. The original is owned by Ernest H. Pringle.

I understand that Sir Alex. Nisbett⁴⁶ and young Doctor Moultrie sail'd from Leith for Carolina about a fortnight agoe.

Please to present my kind love and compliments to my Sister, not forgetting Robert and Betsey, with whom I heartily wish you all health and felicity, and believe me to be most respectfully Dear Loving Brother Your

Your most affectionate Brother and very humble Servant

Robert Pringle

Our Brother joins with me in his compliments. Please my Best Respects to all friends.

(*To be continued*)

⁴⁶ Sir Alex. Nisbett executed a codicil, Oct. 13, 1749, a few days before he left North Britain. "Nisbett of Dean and Dean Hall," by D. E. Huger Smith, *SCH GM*, XXIV, 17-29.

MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE GREENVILLE
MOUNTAINEER OF GREENVILLE, S. C.

Contributed by J. M. LESESNE

(Continued from January)

Married in Chester District on 24th ult., by Rev. J. L. Davis, Alexander Peden of Greenville to Miss Sarah McCala of Chester District. (February 18, 1832)

Died Miss Anne M. Gunnels, eldest daughter of Captain Wm. C. Gunnels, age 19. (February 18, 1832)

Died Mr. Chester on 3rd ult. (February 18, 1832)

Died William C. Young, former publisher of Greenville Republican, age 36. (February 18, 1832)

Died in this District on December 1, 1831 Mr. Charles Bruce, Senior, 88 years of age. (February 18, 1832)

Died March 2, 1832, at residence near here, Mrs. Elizabeth T. Williams, wife of Dr. Thomas B. Williams, age 39. (March 10, 1832)

Married on 15th by Rev. S. B. Lewers, Captain Alexander Savage to Miss Rosanna Morton of Greenville District. (March 24, 1832)

Married in this town on Tuesday last by Rev. Mr. Landrum, E. T. Smith of Spartanburg to Mrs. Eliza R. Green. (April 7, 1832)

Married on 31st ult., by Rev. Hutchings, Mr. Wm. McGregor to Mrs. Mary Self, all of Greenville. (April 7, 1832)

Married on 27th ult., by Rev. Hutchings, Mr. Henry Sherman of Northborough, Mass., to Miss Caroline M. daughter of Philip Evans of this District. (April 7, 1832)

Married on Thursday last by Rev. Mr. Gibson, Captain Wm. Choice to Miss Caroline, daughter of Captain J. Cleveland, all of this town. (May 12, 1832)

Married on 3rd by Rev. Jonathan Deweese, Dr. Mark M. Johnson, to Miss Matilda C. G. only daughter of Mr. Robert Alexander, all of this District. (May 12, 1832)

Died on 1st Mrs. Nancy Austin, wife of Wm. Austin, age 92. A few months more would have completed the 70th year since this couple were married. (May 12, 1832)

Died on 5th Tyre Glenn, age 64, drowned (accidental). (May 12, 1832)

Married on Thursday last by Rev. Folker, Captain R. Loveland to Miss Martha Bond, all of Greenville. (Saturday, May 19, 1832)

Died on 22nd Mrs. Malinda Rale, Consort of Mr. John Rale, age 34. Husband and 5 children left. (Saturday, May 26th, 1832)

Died in Gainesville, Ga., on 2nd Elizabeth Hannah, eldest daughter of Major John E. Brown, formerly of this District, age 6. (June 19, 1832)

Died in this town on 1st Mrs. Anna J. Folker, wife of Rev. P. H. Folker. (July 7, 1832)

Married in this town Tuesday last by Rev. Mr. Gibson, Mr. Thomas Allen to Miss Elizabeth C. Myrick. (Saturday, July 7, 1832)

Died on 23rd, age 38, Mrs. Martha Goodlett, wife of Major Spartan Goodlett, nine children. (July 28, 1832)

Married on 19th of last month by Rev. A. A. C. Walker, Mr. Thomas Nash and Miss Elizabeth Stribling of this District. (August 4, 1832)

Died on 7th at residence in this District, Captain Thomas Edwards, age 70. Served in Revolutionary War, entering army at the age of 16. At Camden and at surrender of Cornwallis. Member of Legislature for 14 years. (August 11, 1832)

Died in this town yesterday, Malinda, infant daughter of Mr. John Rale, age about 4 months. (September 8, 1832)

Married on Tuesday last by Edward Norton, Mr. Orwell Thayer and Miss Harriet C. Obborn all of Pickens District. (September 8, 1832)

Married on 11th by Brashier Henderson, Mr. Hiram Brashier to Miss Irene Cox, all of this District. (September 22, 1832)

Married on 20th by Rev. Samuel Lewers, Mr. James R. Harrison to Miss Jane, eldest daughter of Mr. John Stevis, all of this District. On same evening by same, Mr. Thomas C. Harrison to Miss Laura Matilda, eldest daughter of Mr. Lindsey A. Baker all of this District. (September 22, 1832)

Married on 27th by Rev. W. M. Magee, Mr. James L. Jenkins to Miss Mourning Garrison, daughter of Widow Garrison, all of this District. (September 29, 1832)

Married on 4th by Silas R. Whitten, Mr. John Campbell to Miss Nancy Williams, all of this District. (October 13, 1832)

Died on 4th Mrs. Sarah C. Goodlett, Consort of late John H. Goodlett, age 26. (October 20, 1832)

Married in this town on Thursday evening last by Rev. Wm. B. Johnson, Mr. John M. Roberts and Miss Mary J. Sloan. (October 27, 1832)

Married in this town on Tuesday last by Rev. Mr. Cater, Colonel B. M. Pearson of Union to Miss Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Croft, Esq. (November 3, 1832)

Married on Tuesday last by Rev. Mr. Berry, Mr. Micajah B. Williams of Anderson District to Miss Matilda Tarrant of Greenville District. (November 10, 1832)

Married in Charleston on 30th ult., by Rev. Mr. Manly, Mr. Wm. H. Toney formerly of this District to Miss Susan Berney of the former place. (November 10, 1832)

Married in Charleston on 25th ult., Colonel C. G. Memminger to Miss Mary Wilkinson, all of Charleston. (November 10, 1832)

Married on Tuesday last by Rev. Mr. Gibson, Colonel Thomas N. Dawkins of Union to Miss Harriet H. daughter of Captain J. Cleveland of this town. (November 17, 1832)

Married on Thursday last by James Obborn, Mr. Harvey Woodruff to Miss Jane Blasingame, all of Pickens District. (November 17, 1832)

Married on Thursday last by Rev. Mr. Hudson, Mr. John Bale to Miss Phebe G. Foster, all of this District. (November 24, 1832)

Married on 28th ult., by Rev. Mr. Ellis, Mr. Thomas Watson to Miss Malinda C. Grisham, all of Pickens District. (December 8, 1832)

Died in this District at house of Spartan Goodlett on November 9th, Mr. Moses Goodlett in 48th year of his age. (December 8, 1832)

Married on 16th by R. Thruston, Mr. Martin Raney to Miss Mary Roberts, all of this District. (December 22, 1832)

Died at his residence near this town on 21st, Mr. Rawlins W. Lowndes, son of the late Honorable William Lowndes. (December 22, 1832)

Married on 1st by S. R. Whitten, Mr. Thomas Campbell to Miss Jemima Barnett, all of this District. (January 12, 1833)

Married on 3rd by Rev. Mr. Berry, Mr. John Garrison to Miss Mahala B., eldest daughter of Captain John Watson, all of this District. (January 12, 1833)

Died at Spartanburg Court House on 11th, Miss Louise E. Jones, daughter of Mr. George Jones. (January 19, 1833)

Died Mr. Walter Ashmore, drowned in Reedy River near Thompson Mill, 7 miles below Greenville on Thursday, March 7th. (March 9, 1833)

Died on 15th at residence in upper part of District, George Russel, age 54. (March 23, 1833)

Married on the 26th ult., by Rev. Mr. Berry, Mr. Edmund Garrison to Miss Bolling, daughter of Mr. Samuel Bolling, all of this District. (April 6, 1833)

Married on the 28th ult., by Rev. Mr. Berry, Mr. John Charles, Jr., to Miss Martha, eldest daughter of Wm. Jacobs, all of this District. (April 6, 1833)

Died on 15th Mrs. Polly McDaniel, age 49, wife of James McDaniel of this place. (April 27, 1833)

Died in St. Clair County, Ala., on the 12th ult., Mr. Winn B. Gowan, formerly a highly respectable citizen of this District. (May 11, 1833)

Died at his residence in Abbeville District, on 13th ult., Major-General Edward Ware, Commander of the 1st Division, S. C. Militia. (May 11, 1833)

Died on 8th Mrs. Mary Dickie, Consort of Lewis H. Dickie of this District. (June 15, 1833)

Married on June 6th by Rev. Hiram Roberts, Mr. Sanford Brown to Miss Elizabeth Brookshire, all of this District. (June 15, 1833)

Died on board a steamboat 70 miles below Columbus, Ga., a few weeks since, Mr. Marvel F. Lewis, formerly a merchant of this town. (July 20, 1833)

Died in Carlisle, Ky., latter part of June, Mr. Milton W. Thurmond, formerly of Greenville. (July 20, 1833)

Married in Charleston, 3rd, George Edwards to Mrs. Henrietta Aiken, both of that city. (July 20, 1833)

Married at Savannah, 10th, John MacPherson Berreien to Eliza Cecil, eldest daughter of Colonel James Hunter, both of that city. (July 20, 1833)

Married in this village, 18th, by Rev. Benjamin Burroughs, Wm. H. Burroughs to Miss Ann Alethea, second daughter of F. H. MacLeod, all of Savannah, Ga. (July 27, 1833)

Died on 20th, Mrs. Floride Lydia Croft, age 58, Consort of Edward Croft. Great Christian lady of this place. (July 27, 1833)

Married on 12th by Rev. J. W. McCall, Miles M. Norton of Pendleton to Miss N. Frances, daughter of Colonel Joseph Grisham of Falls, Pickens District, S. C. (September 28, 1833)

Died here on 29th, Albert Petigru North, son of John C. North of Georgetown, 3½ years of age. (October 5, 1833)

Died on 15th at Gowansville of Scarlet Fever, Mrs. Caroline Matilda Whitten, Consort of Mr. Alfred Whitten, age 24. (November 23, 1833)

Died at residence in Pickens District on 23 ult., Mr. Samuel Earle, age 73. Active in Revolution and once a representative in Congress. (December 7, 1833)

Married on 17th ult., by Brasher Henderson, Mr. Henry Henderson of Ala., and Miss Elizabeth Long of this District. (December 7, 1833)

Married on 5th by Rev. Stephen Ellis, Mr. Elijah Alexander of Pickens to Miss Elizabeth Steele of Pendleton Village. (December 14, 1833)

Married on Tuesday last, by Rev. Wm. Magee, Mr. Wm. M. Alexander to Miss Martha Ann McDaniel, all of this District. (December 21, 1833)

Married on Thursday last by same, Mr. Wm. Enix to Miss Elizabeth Snyder both of this place. (December 21, 1833)

Married Thursday December 31, by Rev. Wm. Magee, Mr. Samuel A. Magee to Miss Nancy Cobb, daughter of Humphrey Cobb of this District. (January 11, 1834)

Died at her residence 6 miles below Greenville, Mrs. Mary Hall, Consort of the late Mr. Merry Hall, age 88. (January 11, 1834)

Married 30th ult., by Rev. Berry, Mr. Wm. Richards to Miss Caroline, eldest daughter of Mr. Jesse C. Elrod. (February 8, 1834)

Married on Wednesday last by Rev. Hiram Roberts, Mr. Washington Barbarey to Miss Caroline Roberts, all of this District. (February 8, 1834)

Married at Hickory Grove, the residence of late Samuel Earle, by Rev. T. Dawson, James B. Mays of Florida to Miss D. Meriam Earle. (No date). (February 22, 1834)

Died on 22nd ult., at Spartanburg, Dr. Dennis Marshall. He was a native of Greenville but lived in Spartanburg. (March 1, 1834)

Married on the 25th ult., in Wilkes County, Ga., by Rev. Cassel Harrison, P. E. Duncan of Greenville to Miss Mary F. A., daughter of Wilie Hill, of Wilkes County. (March 8, 1834)

Married on 18th ult., by Rev. Thomas Huchings, Mr. Beverly Glenn of Spartanburg, to Miss Rebecca Austin of this District. (March 8, 1834)

Married on 25th ult., by Brashier Henderson, Mr. Henry Brashier to Miss Martha Richardson, all of this District. (March 8, 1834)

Married on 25th ult., by Rev. S. Vandiver, Mr. Humphrey Williams of Greenville District, to Miss Mary Acker of Anderson District. (March 8, 1834)

(To be continued)

NOTES AND REVIEWS*

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Washington Allston: A Study of the Romantic Artist in America. By Edgar Preston Richardson. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. Pp. x, 234. Illustrations. Catalogue of paintings. Bibliography. Indexes. \$10.00.)

In his preface the author says he returns in this volume to a problem discussed in a former work: What was the nature of that impulse toward an ideal and monumental art which was the first independent movement of American painting as it emerged from its apprenticeship in the Colonial portrait tradition? Acclaimed at first, this imaginative movement went out of fashion and was later called a failure. The importance of studying Allston's work is not only for his own sake, but perhaps as a key to the period.

The opening chapter tells us "Washington Allston was the chief figure of the first group of American artists to appear after the American Revolution. . . . He was the most able and many-sided figure of that generation, . . . and was the pioneer in creating an ideal art upon American soil." Son of William Allston, a captain in Marion's brigade, and his second wife, Rachel Moore of French and Dutch ancestry, Washington Allston was born November 5, 1779, at Brook Green, a plantation, not "Domain," on the Waccamaw River in All Saints Parish, Georgetown District, South Carolina. Washington's father died when the child was only two years old, and his widowed mother married the chief of the medical staff of Greene's army, Dr. Henry C. Flagg.

Letters of Washington Allston recollecting the joys of his childhood show how he revelled in the mysterious beauty of the plantation, and speak of his drawing even then. His purpose to be an artist was formed then and he never relinquished it. At an early age he was sent to Mrs. Calcott's school in Charleston, and two years later, to the north to prepare for Harvard, from which he graduated with honors in 1800. Painting is a craft as well as an art, and from whom could a would-be painter learn to paint where there were no schools of art? Allston modestly put himself to learn from whatever he could: he used his leisure at Harvard for drawing, and studied painstakingly a copy of Van Dyke's portrait of Cardinal Bentivoglio, an experience which caused him later when in Europe to go directly to the old

* This department will print queries regarding South Carolina history and genealogy. Copy should be sent to the Editor, South Carolina Historical Society, Fireproof Building, Charleston 5, S. C.

masters for guidance. Until he went to London, Allston was practically self taught.

In post-Revolutionary America the task of the artist was not to illustrate traditional beliefs. There were no picture galleries, libraries and cathedrals; intellectual activity was much absorbed in politics and religion. The only developed movement in painting was the portraiture of Stuart, Malbone and Peale. About 1800 there was a widening in the imaginative climate, and contemporary with Allston's first oil painting, Charles B. Brown brought out the first American novel, Washington Irving's letters began to appear, and William E. Channing invigorated the life of New England with the belief that culture is a universal inheritance. Two American artists, forced by lack of an existing style to think out for themselves the meaning and purpose of their art, arrived at fundamental discoveries in advance of current European practice: Poe in literature, and Allston in painting.

Though his fare was meagre, life was simpler and less encumbered for the artist in America then than now. The author mentions the theatre in New York and Philadelphia, but says nothing of it in Charleston, though he speaks of Allston having seen at the Charleston Library Society, Fuseli's illustrations for Boydell's Shakespeare gallery.

After graduating from Harvard in 1800, Allston returned to Carolina for several months, got permission from his family to study art, sold his patrimonial acres to finance his study, and sailed for England in May 1801 in the company of Malbone. When he left there two years later, he took the best technical knowledge London had to give, and was equipped with the English coloristic technique, including use of underpaint and glazes.

Allston's two visits to the Louvre in 1803-1804 and in 1817, mark periods in the development of his style. He revelled in the light and color revealed in Rubens and the Venetian paintings. To Allston is due the historical interest that he gave American art a coloristic style as early as 1805. But American artists failed to learn from Allston in this. Two pictures which he painted at this time, *Rising of a Thunder Storm at Sea*, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and *The Deluge*, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, mark an epoch in American art. The first transfigures without altering the facts of nature by its sense of the poetry and mystery of existence; the second is the first landscape of mood in American painting.

Allston left France for Italy, travelling via Switzerland. "The impressions left by the sublime scenery of Switzerland," he wrote thirty years later, "are still fresh to this day. A new world has been opened to me." A series of landscapes done there and in Italy transpose the forms of nature and become imaginative reveries. Allston wrote, "Nothing in nature can be fragmentary, except the seeing, and then too to the understanding

only—to the feelings never." It is no wonder that Washington Irving, then meeting Allston in Italy and being fascinated as they rambled about Rome and its environs, almost decided to "turn painter." Another lifelong friendship resulted when the author of *Kubla Khan* saw the magical hush of wonder in Allston's *Diana in the Chase*, and Coleridge write him afterwards, "Had I not known the Wordsworths, I should have loved and esteemed you *first* and *most*, and as it is, next to them I love and honor you." With the portrait of Coleridge which resulted from their association in Rome in 1806, we come to Allston's type of romantic portrait. *David Playing before Saul*, and *Moses and the Serpent*, two small pictures dating from this period, are to be seen in the Gibbes Art Gallery, gifts to the Carolina Art Association from the late Victor Morawetz.

In 1808 Allston returned to America, married Ann Channing, who had waited for him since 1800, and lived and worked in Boston until 1811, when, with his wife, he returned to London. There he worked feverishly, painting among other things *The Dead Man Revived*. It is remarkable that while the United States was at war with England, Allston should have been awarded for this painting the prize of two hundred guineas from the British Institution—a tribute, as Mr. Richardson says, both to the effect the picture produced and to the magnanimity of the British connoisseurs. In London Mrs. Allston died in 1815, and Allston suffered great depression. It was then, and through Coleridge's influence that he was confirmed in the Episcopal Church. Supported by Coleridge and Sir George Beaumont, Allston worked on. His *Jacob's Dream*, purchased by Lord Egremont, was said to have inspired one of Wordsworth's poems, a copy of which Mrs. Wordsworth sent Allston "in gratitude for the pleasure she received from the sight of Mr. Allston's pictures, in particular *Jacob's Dream*."

Though loved, admired and acclaimed in England, Allston left those shores for America in 1818, and many have thought that by so doing he sounded his knell as an artist. When he left England, his large canvass *Belshazzar's Feast* was practically finished, but he never recaptured the mood with which he had first envisioned the picture. Thinking to put the artist above financial strain, ten gentlemen of Boston bought the picture, paying into a trust a sum upon which Allston could draw while finishing the work. This became a tragedy. All the more because he felt the obligation, the harder he worked, the more hopeless was his frustration; and critics have written down this last period of his life as uncreative. But Mr. Richardson says that Allston did some of his best work in his last period. James Jackson Jarvis, a hard and discerning critic, who wrote a survey of American art in 1864, called *Belshazzar's Feast* "the greatest, best composed and most difficult painting yet attempted by an American artist."

Allston left a number of fine compositions from this period. Something

of the enthusiasm they aroused was expressed by Margaret Fuller when she told how, at the age of sixteen, she had first seen some of Allston's pictures: "The calm and meditative ease of these pictures, the ideal beauty that shone *through* rather than *in* them, and the harmony of color were as unlike anything else I saw as the Vicar of Wakefield to Cooper's novels."

In June 1830 Allston married Martha Remington Dana, sister of the poet, Richard H. Dana, and a cousin of his first wife.

At this time Allston's flair for the dramatic and grandiose had passed. The essence of artistic vigor, in his mind, was suggestion: "A work of art should create an image of experience—which means our whole experience, including necessarily . . . our intellectual and moral life." *The Moonlight Landscape* is a very quiet painting, but in its silent way it creates an impression that lingers. Painted in 1819, it shows how Allston had grown in mastery of the inhabited landscape. The mingled grandeur, tranquillity and grace of the *Italian Landscape* made a great impression. The power of analytical thought which Coleridge had found so remarkable in Allston, he now used in the closely reasoned structure of his theory of art, his most important writing, which was published posthumously in 1850 under the title *Lectures on Art*.

Allston was an artist with an independent voice, not concerned with reputation but with the sympathy of kindred minds, "the one full-scale artist of the period in the United States. . . . As painter, poet and philosopher he exhibits the life and the implications of romanticism better than any other single figure of the period from 1800 to 1840. . . . He has the historical interest of being the first artist in our national life who established the art of painting on its full imaginative and figurative scale."

Allston died at his home July 9, 1843, and was buried in the Dana vault. Both by the quality of his achievement and by the quality of his life, he had made his impression. Longfellow wrote long after Allston's death, "One man may sweeten a whole town. I never pass through Cambridge Port without thinking of Allston. His memory is the quince in the drawer, and perfumes the atmosphere."

With the knowledge and experience as director of the Detroit Institute of Arts, and with the imagination and sensitiveness which go with the sympathy of a mind akin to Allston's, Mr. Richardson has written a great appreciation. It does not matter that he puts down William Allston's grandfather John as a follower in Monmouth's rebellion, and William as having been poisoned, both tales having been shown to the contrary by authorities within this state; it does not matter that there is for him no theatre in Charleston; these things are unimportant as compared to the great tribute here made to Washington Allston, the man and the artist.

The sixty reproductions of Allston's work, one in color, add much to the value of the book.

Susan Lowndes Allston

The Early Settlement of Georgia. By James Etheridge Callaway. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1948. Pp. vii, 138. \$2.50.)

This small volume is a condensed story of the settlement of Georgia, not only in its early period as the title suggests, but also until all of its area was occupied by the land hungry white men from Europe and America. The story is written largely from primary sources, and in the settlement of the Cotton Belt is accompanied by some interesting tables. The book also contains an annotated bibliography which should be helpful for those interested in Georgia history.

A few illustrative maps would aid the reader tremendously in following the text. In fact, they are necessary for a reader not versed in the geography and political divisions of the state.

There are a few minor points to which one may take exception. The Georgians did not engage in the fur trade but in the trade for skins, and they traversed "paths" not "trails." The Carolinas were not officially divided in 1716; and it is misleading to refer to the Trustees as the Lords Proprietors.

If one reads the book to obtain information relative to the connection of South Carolina with the early settlement of Georgia, he will be disappointed; but if he reads it for facts and interpretation relative to the economic life of Georgia, he will be amply repaid. The latter, of course, was what the author intended in writing it.

J. M. Lesesne

Searching For Your Ancestors. By Gilbert H. Doane. (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1948. Pp. 176. \$4.50.)

This volume, a revision of the 1937 edition of *Searching For Your Ancestors*, is "intended to be an introduction to the method of seeking for elusive and forgotten ancestors", and also to shed further light on some "peculiar problems" encountered by users of the first edition. Written primarily for individuals who contemplate a personal search for records of their progenitors, the book is well adapted for that purpose, as well as for standardizing the work of untrained professional genealogists.

In twelve chapters, the author explains step by step how and where to go for information, and amply illustrates the arranging of genealogical charts. He also names the usual sources and treats methods for acquiring information, from interviewing relatives to enlisting government aid. The 25-page Appendix contains an excellent general bibliography; a list of vital

statistics records prior to the year 1900; and a list of early available census records; all of which are rendered of greater practical value by being arranged under States. In the preface there appears a timely warning that unsolicited mail-order genealogies are to be treated with due skepticism.

Since much ancestor hunting is inspired by a desire for D. A. R. membership, the author has devoted one chapter to "How to Become a D. A. R.", in which he gives a complete list of ancestor service required.

For those who think that searching for ancestors is a dull, restricted job, the first chapter, "Jaunts and Jollities Among Ancestors", will reveal some interesting educational by-paths that may be taken by the amateur or the professional genealogist.

Some of the author's instructions are perhaps over-detailed, but they are sound in principle and clearly demonstrate a knowledge of the subject acquired by "trial and error" methods over a period of more than thirty years. Taken as a whole, the volume is a fine contribution to the art of "searching for your ancestors" and is recommended to all who undertake the preparation of genealogies, whether for family archives or for publication.

Flora B. Surles

FORTHCOMING BOOKS

Four more volumes are scheduled to appear in 1949 of the comprehensive *History of the South*, edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter, and published jointly by the Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas. They are: *The Revolution in the South, 1763-1789*, by Philip M. Hamer; *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861*, by Avery O. Craven; *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, by E. Merton Coulter; and *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, by C. Vann Woodward. Three of the ten-volume set have been published already, and the series is planned to be completed in 1950.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

The ninety-fourth annual meeting of the South Carolina Historical Society was held at the Fireproof Building on January 11, 1949, the president, Dr. William Way, presiding. The following members were present: Susan L. Allston, Charles L. Anger, C. R. Banks, Mrs. John Bennett, Murray Bennett, Mrs. E. Milby Burton, Joseph T. Clement, J. H. Easterby, Louise Jones Du Bose, Mrs. Charles H. Duke, Mrs. Waveland S.

FitzSimons, J. Nelson Frierson, Berkeley Grimball, Francis M. Hutson, Mrs. S. Edward Izard, Jr., J. H. McGee, Mrs. Charles A. Manship, Jr., B. Allston Moore, Louisa Poppenheim, Duncan M. Pringle, Granville T. Prior, Paul Quattlebaum, Mrs. Roscoe G. Rackley, Mary A. Sparkman, Samuel G. Stoney, Mrs. William Way.

After the minutes of the preceding annual meeting were read and approved, the secretary presented fifty-five applications for membership which were unanimously accepted. The secretary also reported twenty-three resignations, six members lost by death, and fourteen dropped.

The report of the Committee on Finance was presented by Mr. J. H. McGee for the chairman, Mr. W. L. Glover. Mr. Easterby asked if there was a distinction between endowment and general fund, and whether, if there was a surplus of income over expenditures, it might be made available for use on the building? He called attention to the fact that the Society is possessed of the most complete files of the publications of national, state, and special historical agencies, of any local institution, and he proposed that \$100 be allocated for binding some of them. Furthermore, in view of the condition of the interior of the building, and the inconvenience of housing the Society's collections, he proposed that a sum from the surplus in the general fund be set aside for use on the building. In the discussion which followed, it was brought out that the building had been received in poor condition and that the County had agreed to be responsible for the roof only. Mr. Easterby then offered his proposals in the form of two resolutions: (1) that \$100 be allocated to binding the publications received by exchange; (2) that the sum of \$500 from the surplus in the general fund be set aside for renovations in other rooms, similar to what the Society has already made in the main office and library. Both resolutions were passed.

After the secretary-treasurer's report on current expenditures, and the report on accessions during the year, she called attention to an exhibit of some of the outstanding gifts.

Mr. Stoney presented the report of the Publication Committee. On motion of Mrs. John Bennett, it was voted unanimously that the editor be made a member of the Board of Managers.

On motion of Mr. Stoney it was voted that four regular quarterly meetings of the Board of Managers be held on the first Tuesdays in January, April, July and October.

The President announced the following appointments to standing committees:

Building, R. Bentham Simons, *chairman*; Samuel Lapham, J. P. DeVaux, J. N. Frierson, Mrs. T. R. Waring.

Collections, Helen G. McCormack, *chairman*; John E. Gibbes, Rev. H. D. Bull, Charles L. Anger, Mrs. Henry Jersey.

Constitution, Rt. Rev. Albert S. Thomas, *chairman*; Berkeley Grimball, J. B. Heyward, B. Allston Moore, Louisa Poppenheim.

Membership, Duncan M. Pringle, *chairman*; Mrs. Edward McIver, Anne A. Porcher, Susan L. Allston.

Publications, Anne King Gregorie, *chairman*; S. G. Stoney, J. H. Easterby, St. Julien Childs, Granville T. Prior, J. Mauldin Lesesne, R. W. Barnwell, Jr.

The President then asked Mr. Banks to take the chair for election of officers; and the following were nominated and elected: *President*, Dr. William Way; *First Vice-President*, N. B. Barnwell; *Second Vice-President*, Samuel G. Stoney; *Third Vice-President*, B. Allston Moore; *Fourth Vice-President*, E. Milby Burton. *Curators*: William M. Means, Alice R. Huger Smith, Mrs. John Bennett, W. L. Glover, William Mason Smith, R. Bentham Simons, Granville T. Prior, Joseph H. McGee, Berkeley Grimball. *Secretary*, Elizabeth H. Jersey.

Mr. Stoney then called attention to the resignations, which had been received with regret, of two members of the Board of Managers whose services to the Society in the past were gratefully acknowledged: John Bennett and J. H. Easterby. On motion of Mr. Stoney, it was voted by a standing vote that honorary membership in the Society be conferred on Mr. Bennett.

The following gifts received by the Society in 1948 have not yet been acknowledged in this department: Data on the Harleston family, including photostats of two wills, a pen-and-ink sketch of Molland in England, home of Afra Harleston, and information on the English branch of the family (from Mrs. Ellery Sedgwick, Beverly, Mass.); Release by John Royer to Peter Manigault, obligations to Royer children, 1717 (from E. L. Manigault, Fairmont, W. Va.); *History of Orangeburg Presbyterian Church, 1835-1935*, and *An Historical Sketch of Old St. David's Church, Cheraw* (from Mrs. Edward McIver); *Old St. David's, Cheraw* (from Mabel McIver); notes on Martin-Knight and allied families (from David S. Martin, LaGrange, Ga.); Report on the battle of Pearl Harbor, by Rear Admiral R. B. Simons (from Mary Sparkman); copper plates of Paul Hamilton Hayne's poems (from E. M. Baker, Columbia); Chalmer's *Account of Weather and Diseases of S. C.* and *A Brief History of the South Carolina Medical Association* (from Dr. J. I. Waring); Chart of family of Dr. John Thomas (from G. E. Bushnell, Santa Monica, Calif.); "The First Fragment of a Translation of the Divine Comedy . . ." reprinted from *Italica*, March 1948 (from P. E. Clapp).

REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

Miss Flora Belle Surles, Oakland on the Marsh, Mt. Pleasant, S. C., wishes information on descendants of Benjamin Postell Lockwood who

married Jane, daughter of William Winslow of Fall River, Mass. April 7, 1833. Lockwood was the grandson of the Charleston clock-maker, Joshua Lockwood, and his wife, Mary (Lee) of Charleston.

Mrs. William J. Reed, 3920 Cabrillo, San Francisco 21, Calif., writes Mr. John Bennett of Charleston, that she has inherited a Hall genealogy compiled by her grandfather, the Rev. William Hall, whose ancestor William Hall I, received a grant for lands near the present Halltown, W. Va. She desires information on William Hall II, who married Elizabeth Lucas about 1759, and went to Newberry, S. C., where he was living in 1797 with wife Susannah. Later he went to Montgomery County, Ky., where he was still alive at the age of 115.

Professor Carl Bode, University of Maryland, Baltimore, has sent the following: "I am writing a book to be entitled *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind*. It is a study of the cultural, historical, and literary aspects of the lecture system in our country from 1830 to 1860. I would be indebted to any of your readers who would let me know if a lyceum existed in their locality before 1860 and, perhaps, where I might write to secure records of the lyceum if it did exist."

IN MEMORIAM

Major General Johnson Hagood, who died in Charleston after a very brief illness on December 22, 1948, was for only a very short while a member and officer of this Society. But as in all things connected with his long, useful, eminent, and genial life, he has left the South Carolina Historical Society in his debt for wise counsels and valuable services rendered.

Johnson Hagood was born in this state in 1873 to the inheritance of an old, honorable and distinguished name. This he illustrated in his lifetime of seventy-five years, and a varied career as a soldier, an administrator, a business executive, and above all, as both a maker and a writer of history. Besides these claims to fame, he was personally a man who could be most fondly liked even while being respected, a genial gentleman, witty and wise, and as patient as he was courageous and determined.

